

HOW TO RUN A PEACE CANDIDATE

THE NATION

NOVEMBER 7, 1966 35 cents

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LETTERS

punishing the blameless

New York City

DEAR SIR: There is one aspect of the abortion question [editorial, "The Right to Abortion," *The Nation*, Oct. 17] which seems always to be left out, the most important in my view, namely the unwanted child. . . . To force motherhood on one unwilling is not "punitive motherhood"—it is immediate, unending punishment for the only one who is blameless. Ann Jackson

the New Left replies

Oakland, Calif.

DEAR SIR: Both your editorial and the article by Gladwin Hill ["Barbecues and Other Trivia," *The Nation*, Oct. 17] in discussing our recent "New Left" Conference on Power and Politics in Los Angeles, contain serious errors and distortions which should be corrected. From your magazine's failure to adequately cover the recent California primary races involving "peace" candidates to your rather cavalier coverage of the conference (which grew out of the primaries), you have evidenced an unseemly obtuseness as to the meaning, composition and direction of the "New Left." . . .

Contrary to your flat assertion, many more Negroes attended the conference than have ever attended CDC or similar meetings in California—and they did not walk out. As you did point out, perhaps the unique feature of the conference was the participation of the organized poor, who were impatient to condemn Brown and get on to other business. To have involved such groups indicates a viability for the New Politics that the proponents of politics-as-usual disregard at their peril.

The conference voted approximately 7 to 5 to substitute a statement to the effect that it opposed both Brown and Reagan for one which said that it could not support either candidate. Though there is a difference of degree between them, both resolutions opposed Governor Brown. That fact must be understood! No more than 10 per cent of those attending the conference evinced any desire to support Pat Brown! Thus, any split which you saw as an outgrowth of the conference was over tactics, not over the basic question of opposition to a Governor who almost all concede has failed and repudiated the Left and the liberals of California. . . .

Most important, your readers must understand that we were and are willing to support Brown, or any other political figure who engages in at least a minimally liberal performance—but Brown has recently been bad on farm labor, civil rights, police-community relations, economic justice, welfare and the war. He has made his choice; he will woo the Right, not the Left. You must pardon us for not wanting to be a member of that wedding.

Malcolm Burnstein, Northern Chairman,
Conference on Power and Politics

Evanston, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Gladwin Hill's article on the California gubernatorial election seems to me remarkably unperceptive. . . . Clever reporters like Mr. Hill may sneer at or ignore the elements of what is sometimes called the New Left, but Pat Brown should know that their alienation from him will probably cost him this election. The Left, both old and New, has finally gotten tired of being given only a choice between the near Right and the far Right and is asking for something better, even at the price of having Ronald Reagan as governor for the next four years. Because the Left has finally seen that be-

(Continued on page 484)

EDITORIALS

The Great Road Show

Lyndon B. Johnson made most of his money in television far out in the provinces, but if fate had placed him at a network headquarters he would have been one of the greatest creators of spectacles in the industry. The political significance of his trip to Asia was synonymous with the showmanship of the affair. Lyndon B. Johnson presented Lyndon B. Johnson. And most of the audience loved it.

This requires some qualification. With the exception of the protesters against the Vietnamese War, the crowds which saw the President in person were obviously entranced. He was not aiming only at them, however. An equally important target—perhaps more important—was the folks back home. The TV coverage for them was no small effort: according to *Newsweek*, C.B.S. had a crew of forty-seven along the route, N.B.C. had forty, A.B.C., fifty. But whether the stateside audience was proportionately impressed is doubtful. The smarter ones knew what LBJ was up to, and the ones eager to admire are seeing an awful lot of their idol. They must be getting a bit tired of a face that has none of the charm that President Kennedy radiated, of speeches on Vietnam that are always the same. On this mammoth junket he declared that the North Vietnamese "aggressors" must be taught that might does not make right—this coming from the greatest military power that has ever been seen on land or sea, in the air or in space, fighting on the other side of the world against a country with a population of some 16 million!

The real victims of the Johnson expedition were the newsmen who went along and had to explain its political significance to the home folks. Aside from spectacle, it had none, but the reporters had to pretend that something was happening. The President himself had warned against any high hopes; few journalists were bold enough to say that the results fell below even the lowest expectations.

The Manila Conference was in large part an effort to give the impression that we are fighting alongside a dedicated group of allies, when actually the war would fall to pieces the next morning if the United States gave notice of withdrawal. The signatories of the meaningless communiqué which the conference brought forth are not so much allies as clients, swilling at the trough of the U.S. Treasury. The three big Asian or Eurasian countries not directly involved in the Vietnamese War—Japan, India and the Soviet Union—stood off at a safe distance, and, even as the Manila Conference went through its clumsy maneuvers, the leaders of India, Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic called on the United States to stop the bombing of North Vietnam "without any preconditions." They also said that the National Liberation Front should be "one of the main parties" in any effort toward peace.

This makes sense, whereas the lucubrations at Manila merely added to an already surplus stock of verbiage. Our latest offer, to quit South Vietnam—presumably to retire to our bases in Thailand—six months after the fighting has subsided, is a mere reiteration of the policy which was set in motion when the bombing began. If the North Vietnamese will abandon the National Liberation Front, in six

months (if we and the Saigon militarists are satisfied) we will depart. If the North Vietnamese bargain on this basis, it will be a startling departure from the position to which they have clung during all these years of fighting.

Peace will come to Southeast Asia one of these days. But when negotiations are started, the confabulation at Manila, and the President's triumphal tour, will have nothing to do with this consummation. It will be the result of secret diplomacy behind the arras of the Johnson spectacular.

Bavaria, U.S.A.

In the depressed thirties, with fascism preparing to overrun Europe, there was widespread apprehension that a like fate awaited America, and that our variant of the Fascist plague would be spawned in the South. It is still possible. Huey Long's often quoted *aperçu*—that fascism would come to America in the guise of Americanism—may yet prove prophetic, and that it would be a racist form of "Americanism" Long would have been the last to deny.

An explosion is clearly in the making. The Negroes of the urban ghettos are in revolt and, even if the war in Vietnam should end tomorrow, their wants will not be satisfied for years. Legal progress toward integration has about run its course as a tranquilizing influence among middle-class Negroes. And at this juncture the South is in process of staging a rebellion, a counterrevolution which bodes no good either for the Democratic Party or the nation. The showdown may not come until 1968, but in a period like the present the years pass all too quickly.

But is "counterrevolution" the right word? That the Negroes have staged a revolution is, when one reflects, a romantic and misleading notion. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar contends that it has been a mistake from the beginning to call the civil rights movement a revolt, a rebellion, a revolution or anything that resembles an uprising, peaceful or violent, with intent to change the existing form of government. The Negro has been calling not for a change in the legal order but for changes in society to conform to the Constitution and the spirit of laws long since enacted. If an American citizen demanding the rights due him by virtue of his citizenship is a revolutionist, the term has been given a new and discordant meaning.

The real revolutionists, of course, are in the South. "Any political observer taking a swing through Dixie," writes Ted Lewis in the *New York Daily News*, "realizes . . . that a significant revolution is under way. . . ." As Mr. Lewis points out, Negro voters, new and old, are being denied a real option in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. The choice offered between Lester Maddox and Bo Callaway, between Lurleen Wallace and James D. Martin leaves the Negro, for the time being, on much the same spot he occupied before he was permitted to register. In the South, and in the North as well, the pace of segregation has been slowed to a walk, if not reversed. The difference is that in the North the segregationists are still on the defensive and in the main reluctant to show an openly racist spirit, while in the South regression is openly aggressive and bent on rolling back such slight gains as the Negro has made. The center of this furor is U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II. Under the law, aside from his personal

THE NATION / November 7, 1966

IN THIS ISSUE

November 7, 1966

EDITORIALS

466

ARTICLES

- 469 How To Run a Peace Candidate
Robert K. Byron
- Restyling the States: 50 Dinosaurs
472 Constitutions: The Politics of Power
Harold Norris
- 475 Legislatures: The 100-Year Lag
David H. Beetle
- 479 Junkets to Apartheid:
America's Press on Safari
Francis Pollock
- 481 The Pilot Shortage
Karl M. Ruppenthal

BOOKS & THE ARTS

- 485 Ireland Rehearses the Future
Kevin Sullivan
- 486 Where the Martyrs Died
Sean Cronin
- 487 Hospitality (poem)
David Ray
- 488 Morning's Twilight
Anthony C. West
- 490 For Each Her Own Tiny Revolt
Nancy Reeves
- 490 The Potential Prisoner (poem)
Sandra Hochman
- 492 Abortion on Demand
Edwin M. Schur
- 493 Theatre
Harold Clurman
- 494 Films
Robert Hatch
- 495 Crossword Puzzle
Frank W. Lewis

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467

convictions, Howe is obligated to move ahead with desegregation along a clearly specified line. As he puts it, "We are not under obligation to see that there is no discrimination but to see to it that no federal funds flow if there is." This leverage the Southern segregationists are bent on disabling. Already they have managed to get a measure through the House to require a hearing in advance of any official attempt to delay payment to any school district suspected of discrimination. Such a measure would tie Howe's hands almost completely.

The Southern rebellion is being pressed on a broader front than this. In Georgia, Lester G. Maddox and his cabal are engaged in taking over the Democratic Party lock, stock and barrel. The Wallaces and all the other Dixiecrats now whooping to the Confederate colors purpose to defy the Constitution, to thwart the federal government, and to halt the forward march of American democracy. Wallace is no political nitwit, nor should Maddox be underestimated—so rapid a rise from selling fried chicken to a probable ascension to the governor's mansion cannot be taken lightly. Wallace is not likely to be President, but in 1968 he could tie up a formidable block of Southern electoral votes. About all this there is a smell of something highly indigenous, yet European too—upstarts and demagogues seizing power and doing it as Hitler did, under cover of legality and with an appeal to the worst instincts of the worst section of the electorate. Whether the parallelism with the thirties will develop further is something to be watched. If it does, terms like fascism or crypto-fascism, which have fallen into desuetude, may have to be brought into the political vocabulary once more.

Symbol of the Backlash

Like Proteus, the white backlash has many shapes. One is the measure on the New York City ballot giving the voters the opportunity to abolish the Civilian Review Board which Mayor Lindsay imposed on the police department. As with many such measures, the way in which the question is put is confusing. The question reduces to this: shall the civilian board be abolished? If you favor retention of the board, you must vote *no*.

It is a real question whether civilian review can get to the basic issues that trouble relations between the police and the citizens. Prof. Walter Gellhorn, in the summer issue of *The Columbia University Forum*, points out that at one time the New York police were in the habit of beating up labor organizers and other not quite respectable persons, but when times changed and politicians changed with the times, orders came down from on high and the police changed their ways—at least to the extent of finding other groups to beat up. Presumably they could be induced to change their attitudes on racial matters as well, if they were impressed by firmness in the top command.

But this evades the political question. Right-wing groups have moved into the field and have made the police their particular pets. In the crude shorthand of politics, "Support your local police" has come to mean "Rally in support of the right wing." It is another of numerous code phrases which now bemuse politics: it means backlash. And it puts normal law-abiding citizens in the position of being

against the police—a piece of political slander by innuendo characteristic of right-wing strategists.

The deplorable consequence is that if the police review board is repealed, the outcome will be construed as a rebuke to civil rights groups and a setback for the whole civil rights movement. Actually, the review board as it exists is already heavily weighted in favor of the police. Civil rights groups could properly object to it. But even a symbolic victory for the backlash in cosmopolitan New York City would contribute to the growing sentiment nationally, the more so if Ronald Reagan should win the gubernatorial election in California. For the results would be interpreted as meaning that the backlash had prevailed in the country's two largest states.

Testimony by Contract

Since its inception as a standing committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has in effect been free of supervision by the House. Its budget is largely unquestioned: the House dutifully votes the generous appropriation it demands, since few members dare to brave the wrath of those who, after twenty years of Red-hunting, still fear the overthrow of the government by the Communist Party.

The House's other obligation toward the committee is to cite recalcitrant witnesses for contempt. This used to be done routinely, but of late there have been signs of reluctance. An uproar developed when citations were requested in the case of three Chicagoans who had defied HUAC. Debate began at 4 P.M. on October 18 and two witnesses were cited, but a third case had not been disposed of when the House adjourned at 9 P.M.

The following day this witness was duly cited, but his case had become something of a *cause célèbre* and the debate brought out some information which, one may surmise, the committee would have preferred to keep private. The witness is Dr. Jeremiah B. Stamler, head of the Chicago Board of Health's heart disease control program and winner of the Albert Lasker award for medical journalism. In citing Dr. Stamler, 219 to 69, the House disregarded a petition on his behalf, to which were appended signatures which filled 20 pages of the *Congressional Record*. Among them were 400 law professors, 1,000 political scientists, 700 physicians and biomedical workers, 250 history professors and 400 religious workers. One of the physicians was Dr. Paul Dudley White, the Boston cardiologist who treated President Eisenhower. If it had not been so eager to adjourn, the House might have taken this massing of intellectuals more seriously.

The dirt on HUAC was brought out by one of the most respected long-term members of the House, Rep. Wayne L. Hays of Ohio. Last August the committee held hearings on the far left Progressive Labor Party's opposition to the Vietnamese War, with Rep. Joseph Pool in the chair. The star witness was Phillip Abbott Luce, who had briefly joined the 5,000-member organization and lengthily exposed its inner workings. Mr. Hays complained about committee fees received by witnesses, including \$1,000 paid to Mr. Luce six days after he testified. The staff director, Francis J. McNamara, denied that Mr. Luce was paid for

his testimony; the money, he said, went to the witness for a study of "ultra-revolutionary groups." Two witnesses against Dr. Stamler were also financial beneficiaries of the committee, and Mr. Hays recalled that Elizabeth Bentley, one of the committee's greatest assets in the forties, had received \$100 a day for her expertise.

It appears that it has been common practice for HUAC to put friendly witnesses under contract as consultants, after they have proved their value in testimony. One can imagine the shrieks of protest which would ring in the House if such a procedure were followed in, say, an inquiry into the trucking industry, or into price fixing in the fuel oil industry, or anything else pertaining to business. It would seem that the least the House can do is to insist that HUAC make public all such payments in the past, and when future friendly witnesses appear, to divulge what their fees as consultants are to be. It is a safe prediction that the House will do nothing of the kind.

The Coy Chancellor

Should a college English instructor assign Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" as the topic for a theme? We don't know. It would depend on the maturity of the students, the way in which the poem was presented and the instructor's reasons for thinking the exercise useful. In other words, it is a matter of professional academic judgment.

But an instructor at the University of North Carolina did assign the poem to his class and all hell broke loose in Chapel Hill when a commentator on a right-wing radio station in nearby Raleigh bleated over the air that the pure minds of the students were being smirched by the lecherous impetuosity of the 17th-century English poet. The instructor has been relieved of his teaching duties and the students are beginning to wonder in their campus paper whether their education is being shaped by Station WRAL-TV, an institution in which they did not enroll.

The University of North Carolina became a great center of learning during the many years when Frank Graham was its president. More recently, Dr. Graham has become one of the country's most revered and effective public servants: National War Labor Board, the President's Com-

mission on Civil Rights, the United States Senate, the United Nations. But last week Dr. Graham was back on the Chapel Hill campus to assist at the installation of the university's new chancellor, J. Carlyle Sitterson. It was Chancellor Sitterson who met the attack of the yahoo broadcaster by saying of the instructor that "it did not appear that he had effective communication with his class."

Back in 1932, when the students invited Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for the Presidency, to speak, Dr. Graham had the visitor stay at his house. Had he been in his old office when Marvell's plaintive lines burst on Chapel Hill, he would at least have invited the instructor home for tea. What he might have said to him, only he can know; but everyone knows what he would have said to WRAL-TV. That was one reason why Chapel Hill became great; the question now is how long it will remain so.

The Cook Campaign

Robert Cook's independent candidacy (see article below) is a model of how to run a peace candidate in a Congressional election. For one thing, it was clear from the outset that Mr. Cook's candidacy could hardly provide an upset victory for the Republican nominee and that if it did it wouldn't matter much. Also, the fact that Mr. Cook decided to run as an independent meant that his candidacy could not be cut short at the primary. As an independent candidate, he has had the full campaign time in which to carry his ideas to the voters of the district. Finally, his campaign was projected on the assumption that the major objective was to build a new base of political power in the district (the 3rd Connecticut C.D.). In other words, his candidacy was not a "one-shot" affair but a carefully planned attempt to found in the district a permanent organization which would continue to function after November 8. On the evidence, Mr. Cook's candidacy has accomplished the objective he and his supporters had in mind. Regardless of the size of his vote—which will measure the immediate impact—his candidacy is certain to have continuing consequences. Looking toward the future, the Cook campaign is a good demonstration of how to set the "new politics" in motion at the Congressional District level.

How To Run A Peace Candidate

ROBERT K. BYRON

Mr. Byron is a senior at Yale University whose area of special interest is the growth of the British Labour Party between the World Wars. He has reported on the Cook campaign for the Yale Daily News.

A few anti-war candidates ran close races in this year's Democratic primaries, but many more went down to lopsided defeat. There were strong showings in three California and three New York Congressional districts; elsewhere the "peace campaigns" offered no threat. The hopes of Johnson's critics on the left now lie almost entirely with a few

independent candidates who are presenting vigorous anti-war platforms.

Perhaps the most promising of the independents is Robert Cook, a Yale sociologist whose ambitious campaign in Connecticut's 3rd District (New Haven and vicinity), has cast doubt on a previously certain Democratic victory. Cook has taken on four-term Democratic incumbent Robert Giaimo and Republican nominee Stelio Salmona. Journalists and experienced political observers see Cook as a greater threat than Salmona to the popular Giaimo.

Connecticut's 3rd District could hardly have seemed promising for a "peace candidate" when the Cook for Con-

gress campaign was born last March. Comprising New Haven and twelve surrounding cities and towns, it almost invariably votes heavily Democratic. Thus, New Haven's powerful Democratic machine has kept Giaimo in office with barely a scare since 1958. Democratic Mayor Richard Lee has been re-elected five times since taking office in 1955. All thirty-three of the city's aldermen are Democrats, and what little strength the Republicans once had in the district was swept away in the Goldwater debacle of 1964.

And this solid Democratic district depends heavily on the defense industry to support its economy. Within its boundaries are the huge Pratt & Whitney jet-engine facilities, Olin Mathieson's Winchester gun division, Marlin Firearms and the Sikorsky helicopter plant.

Congressman Giaimo had registered an acceptable, if unspectacular, record. The district as a whole was prosperous, and the poor in New Haven were reportedly receiving the nation's highest per capita poverty-program allotment. There seemed no reason to expect that Robert Giaimo would not be back in Washington next January.

But early in 1966, a group of a dozen Yale graduate students, faculty members and New Haven intellectuals decided to buck the odds. They formed an Independent Political Action Committee (IPAC) to run a "peace candidate" against Giaimo. After being turned down by at least one prospective candidate, the group found its man in Cook, a 32-year-old assistant professor whose opposition to the war was total and outspoken.

Cook saw the war not as an isolated issue but as a symptom of the basic problem in American society. He said it was but one expression of the political powerlessness of the vast majority of the American people. A "New Left" thinker, he linked the war with poverty. Both, he said, show that politicians are not truly responsive to the needs and wishes of their constituents.

With a candidate and a few hundred dollars for a war chest, IPAC faced its first major decision. Was Cook to face Giaimo in a Democratic primary or in the general election in November? Connecticut's primary laws, the group soon discovered, are structured to make it all but impossible for an insurgent to challenge the nominee of the party machine. Even to get his name on a primary ballot, Cook would first have to receive 20 per cent of the votes at a party convention—in itself an unlikely event—and then within two weeks gain 2,000 signatures from registered Democrats and post a \$1,500 bond.

To run as an independent in November, he would need only about half as many signatures, and they could come from any registered voter. No bond was required and no party professionals needed to pass on him. IPAC had virtually no choice: Cook would run as an independent under the label of a new party to be called the American Independent Movement (AIM).

The next step was to build a campaign organization. Not a single IPAC member had experience in practical politics, but all were ready to learn. A novice himself, Cook had done little public speaking outside Yale lecture halls. To head up this inexperienced but determined team, an outsider was called in from the South. Robert Zellner, a 27-year-old white man from Atlanta, had been a charter member of SNCC and had gained his campaign experience the



Robert Cook

hard way with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Since Cook was almost unknown to the 3rd District's quarter million voters, Zellner made it a first concern of the IPAC organization to get him on view. With the end of Yale classes last spring, Cook began campaigning ten to twelve hours a day, six to seven days a week. He took easily to shaking hands and seemed to enjoy talking with commuters, people on tenement streets, shoppers and workers.

At plants he told union members that high corporate profits are causing inflation. Money going for arms, he said, should be used instead to create permanent jobs. As the summer wore on, there were labor disputes and one wildcat strike in the district. In each case, Cook was at the scene to investigate and to take a stand on the issues involved. To advise Cook on labor matters, assistant campaign manager Jack Osborne, a former state AFL-CIO staff worker, was usually close at hand. Osborne's contacts with local unionists won Cook a hearing at many plants.

When not guiding Cook through the district's plants, Osborne was busy gathering signatures for the petition to put Cook's name on the ballot. By mid-August he and his volunteers had gathered some 2,000 names, more than twice as many as were needed.

Now that college has reopened, Cook must spend the bulk of two days a week on class preparation and teaching. On the other five days and every evening he campaigns even harder than during the summer. Cook's message to voters everywhere in the district is simple and direct. There

is something wrong with "the system," he keeps saying. "Our politicians come to us every election, and then disappear. . . . They forget that they work for us." He consistently asks voters whether they have been consulted about the war, about conditions in their neighborhoods, on their jobs, and in their schools.

His criticism of Giaimo is not that he is a bad Congressman but that he is a typical Congressman. Like many Representatives, he depends on party label and public apathy to win re-election. He seldom strays from the Administration camp, and when he does, it is to compromise a piece of forward-looking legislation. Cook supporters like to point out that Giaimo voted against a New England power project opposed by private power and coal interests, against the Appalachian Development Bill of 1964, and for the crippling Sisk Amendment to the Washington, D.C., Home Rule Bill of 1965.

Many voters tell Cook they are worried about the war, and even those who disagree with him are pleased that for once a candidate is bothering to find out first hand about people's problems. Cook's interest in labor matters is already paying small dividends. To no one's surprise, the state AFL-CIO council officially endorsed Giaimo, but it also strongly commended Cook on all but his Vietnamese stand. And Cook staffers say that many labor delegates have informally expressed "warm and generous support."

As the pace of the campaign accelerates, Zellner's role as coordinator of all activities is becoming increasingly important. From Cook for Congress headquarters, a shabby second-story office in downtown New Haven, he oversees the work of volunteers throughout the district, as well as the preparation and distribution of campaign materials, ranging from balloons, bumper stickers and buttons to a slick biweekly newsletter, numerous fliers and occasional policy statements.

To reach the voters whom Cook cannot see personally, Zellner has organized his workers down to the ward level. A nucleus of thirty full-time personnel (only five receive even subsistence salaries) staffs seven offices, two in New Haven and five in surrounding towns. Each office takes charge of two or three towns and assigns volunteers to specific wards. "By the time of the election," says Zellner, "we will have contacted every voter in the district."

Nearly 2,000 persons have done part-time work for Cook, and in the final weeks as many as 1,000 may be canvassing. All the volunteers are ordinary citizens who have never before been involved in a political campaign. Most full timers are housewives. Yale, which is far from being a center of activism, figures in a relatively minor way. Only a few faculty members give time to the campaign, and fewer than 150 students are doing any canvassing or office work.

One of the few Yale people deeply involved in the campaign is Robert Gelbach, a 25-year-old graduate student in political science who acts as Cook's chief fund raiser. Money had been thought a stumbling block, but funds have been raised with surprisingly little effort. By October, the campaign had raised and spent nearly \$20,000, and Gelbach "fully expects" to raise an equal amount before the election. He is "now convinced that finding funds is not the major obstacle for an independent campaign."

Money has come from a variety of sources. Several in-

dividuals have given large sums, including an anonymous \$2,500 matching gift. A rally for Northeastern "peace candidates" at Powder Hill, Conn., in August raised \$1,000 for Cook's coffers, and a September benefit concert by Harry Belafonte in New Haven brought \$4,000. Support has also come from outside peace and civil rights groups, including Massachusetts PAX which donated \$2,500 and the National Committee for a New Politics which gave \$1,000. The bulk of contributions, however, have been small (\$5 to \$25) donations solicited from ordinary citizens at benefit parties and through the mails. One letter asking for 10c a day for the duration of the campaign—about \$10 total—drew \$100 to \$120 a day for more than three weeks.

A large portion of the fund is being reserved for billboards, newspaper advertisements and radio and television spot coverage. Five billboards, showing the candidate in nine characteristic poses against the blue field of a simplified American flag, are seen daily by commuters moving in and out of New Haven. Cook staffers have been disappointed with the coverage given their policy statements by New Haven's morning and evening Republican papers. To publicize their candidate's key positions, they are contracting for several issue-oriented ads.

In addition, a large number of radio spots and thirty television spots, varying in length from ten seconds to a minute, are being planned for the last phase of the campaign. Both types will give some attention to issues, but time limitations dictate that they must be largely image building. And all commitments for advertising are necessarily contingent on funds.

What IPAC cannot buy are debates with Giaimo. A Hartford TV station sent out invitations to all three candidates in August before Cook was officially on the ballot. Cook and both regular party nominees accepted, and the debate took place as scheduled on Sunday, October 9. It is unlikely, however, that many 3rd District voters saw the debate, since reception of Hartford-TV is poor on most New Haven sets. Those who did tune in saw a provoked Giaimo heatedly defending himself against Cook, with Salmons figuring only slightly in the verbal exchanges. Since then, Giaimo has declined all offers to debate Cook on the air or at public meetings.

Until recently, Giaimo had publicly ignored Cook altogether. But at a local press conference on October 3, he broke his silence. Cook, he admitted, seemed to have a better grasp of the issues (he "had done his homework") than the Republican. But he thought Cook should explain his past and his "associations." For instance, Cook had once said at a Wesleyan symposium that America was fighting on the wrong side in Vietnam. Did this statement mean, Giaimo wondered in the manner of Nixon, that "he would have us fighting for the Communists"? AIM had received money from SNCC and CORE. "What was Cook's connection with Stokely [sic] Carmichael and black power?" Whether this play for backlash and super-patriot votes was a passing thrust or the beginning of a concerted drive remains to be seen. What is certain is that Giaimo has recognized Cook's challenge.

At the same press conference, Giaimo patronizingly dismissed Salmons, who says he is waging "a Crusade Against Arrogance," as an "old friend" ignorant of the issues and

inept at sloganeering. Apparently the Congressman sees no danger from Salmona, and he is probably right. The Republican Party is almost impotent in New Haven, and by any standard Salmona is an uninspiring candidate. A gray-haired former TV newscaster who registered as a Republican only two days before the party convention, he describes himself as a "liberal," but admits that he voted for Goldwater "because of his Vietnamese policy." He advocates "peace in Vietnam through military strength" and promises a fact-finding trip to Vietnam if elected—an apparent echo of Ike's 1952 promise to visit Korea. He has made few appearances in the district and has had little publicity.

Surprisingly, Cook supporters say that suburban Republicans, disappointed with Salmona's slack campaign and "hard-line" stand, might turn to Cook. AIM people report that many normally Republican voters express support during Cook's handshaking tours of commuter trains. Running under an independent label makes it easier for him to attract such Republicans, and also, of course, the 56 per cent of voters who register as independents.

Reliable predictions are difficult to come by. Giaimo says only that he will win, and Salmona says nothing at all. Cook sometimes tells an audience that he intends to surpass Salmona and is optimistic about taking Giaimo's seat. His optimism, however, may be at least partly designed to counter the well-known tendency of voters sympathetic to a third-party candidate to defect at the ballot box because

of a fear of "throwing away" their vote. It is conceivable that Cook might draw more votes than Salmona but unlikely that he can do much better than that.

Whatever the outcome in November, IPAC will continue. As an independent community force, it will seek to encourage major parties to nominate forward-looking candidates, and as far as funds permit, to offer independent candidates when the major parties fail to respond. This year, in a mixed Negro and Italian state assembly district, it is sponsoring Fred Harris, a Negro, who is running on a program that stresses the identity of problems and needs in black and white ghettos. The Harris campaign has generated considerable local enthusiasm and won the wholehearted support of a dozen student radicals who disapprove of the traditional campaign techniques (handshaking tours, billboards, television spots) used by Cook's organization. Neighborhood campaigns for local office, like the one Harris is running, doubtless have a greater potential, both in terms of voter education and of actual victory, than does a Congressional campaign.

The long-term hopes of IPAC to reform 3rd District politics probably lie in similar intensive local efforts. For the present, however, much depends on Cook's showing. If he can draw an impressive share (say, 20 to 30 per cent) of the vote, as some observers think possible, IPAC will be off to a good start. Otherwise, it will probably encounter serious difficulties.

50 DINOSAURS (Restyling the States)

Constitutions: The Politics of Power

HAROLD NORRIS

Mr. Norris, professor of constitutional and criminal law at the Detroit College of Law, was a delegate to Michigan's recent constitutional convention. He is the author of Mr. Justice Murphy and the Bill of Rights (Oceana).

On April 4, 1967, the state of New York will convene its first constitutional convention since 1938. Early on the morning of September 29, Howard J. Samuels was on the platform of the White Plains railroad station, stopping commuters to tell them that he was running for delegate to the convention and to ask for their votes. As *The New York Times* reported next day: "He confirmed what he already suspected; people seemed to know little about the convention and to care less."

Yet it is not an overstatement to say that the serviceability and longevity of the American federal system is at stake in the growing number of state constitutional conventions. According to the National Municipal League, constitutional revision is, or recently has been, the subject of official action in approximately half the states. While more than 180 such conventions have been held in America

since Massachusetts convened the first one in 1779, at no time in the nation's history has the basic law of the states been under such widespread systematic scrutiny.

The immediate stimulus for all this activity has been the required revision of legislative articles to conform with federal court decisions on patterns of representation—the so-called "one-man-one-vote" decisions. A more basic impetus is the frequent inability of state and local governments to deal with problems as fast as contemporary society produces them.

Nevertheless, the question may be put: are the voters of the several states ready to consider the choices inherent in constitutional conventions? Are the New York voters? Candidate Samuels' experience, confirmed by seasoned political observers, strongly suggests that they are not. The intellectuals of the nation have for the most part written off state government as a meaningful target for their analysis and urgings. Indeed, the national experience with state constitutional conventions is that the electorate does not adequately understand its sovereign role of constitution making. In Michigan, for example, less than 25 per cent of the voters turned out to select the 144 delegates

who were to write Michigan's fundamental law. Urban Democrats were more delinquent than the Republicans, and in a state where allegiance to the two major parties is about even, the Republicans won ninety-nine delegates to the Democrats' forty-five. While malapportionment of the convention was itself a factor, lack of awareness, concern and action was clearly evident and particularly in areas with the greatest problems and therefore the greatest stake. The 2-to-1 Republican advantage preordained the conservative constitution eventually produced. Michigan's experience is not unusual, and whether the people of New York have developed a more appropriate means to make known their sovereign will remains to be seen.

Emphasis on constitutional change has brought to light a new though not generally recognized stage in American politics and in the political education of the American people. While the voter has an improved understanding of *issues*, he has generally less insight into *power*. He may be better informed about factors on the state level dealing with education, highways, taxation, civil rights, conservation, recreation, crime, pollution. He is much less aware of and sensitive to the more fundamental political question of who has the power, governmentally and factually, to deal with these issues. The voter and the student as well are confused by the echelons of government: on the vertical level, legislative, executive and judicial; and on the horizontal level, federal, state, county and municipal. In short, it is easier for the voter to sense the issue than to perceive the power behind that issue, or to hold that power accountable.

A constitution is a power document; it is a charter of

power. Fundamental to a constitution is the governmental power it arranges and the political power it reflects. A state constitution, deriving its character as a direct act of sovereignty—only the people of a state by direct vote can ordain and establish a constitution—is authority over authority. It states who shall do it.

But it is harder for people to get excited about the question of power (who shall do it?) than about issues and program (what shall be done?). Power has a greater reach into the future; program is more immediate. It takes more political insight and vision to understand power than program. To enlarge that insight and vision about power requires qualitatively improved political education. With more constitution making in the states, including the precedent making state of New York, a national as well as state effort is needed. People, power, program and politics, pocketbook politics, have to be related in a new and more understandable way. Chief Justice Marshall's historic injunction is applicable here: "We must remember, it is a constitution we are expounding," a charter of government in which merge yesterday and tomorrow, principle and practice, means and ends. Making a constitution is the supreme act of government.

State government is on trial. Technological, population, financial, human relations and other problems abound. In the next ten years, New York, Michigan and the nation will change more than they did in the last fifty. Government must be able to respond sensitively and precisely. Genuine representation, and the clear-cut accountability of those with power, will help bring about the prompt and peaceful change necessary to democratic growth and sur-



vival. Indeed, it must be asked: what is the function of state government in this period of American history? The Tenth Amendment of the federal Constitution says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." But within that reserved power, what is the state's purpose? It can deal with matters that are too big for a city and too local for the nation. This range of concern may not, with advancing technology, justify "state" government forever, but for today the state must assume responsibility for planning and locating state public schools and highways—the two largest items in every state's budget—creating recreational facilities, cleaning up rivers, promoting welfare services and civil rights, establishing justice, taxing fairly, adequately and responsibly.

These objectives require insight into power; they mean that the sovereign people of New York (or any other state) will have to think about how to define state power in their constitution. What are the main power questions?

The one that dominates, animates and permeates all others at state constitutional conventions is apportionment. James Madison noted during the convention that founded this nation: "The great difficulty lies in the affair of representation; and if this could be adjusted all others would be surmountable." The pattern or formula of apportionment will decide who holds the legislative power in the state and can thus check and balance the governor and the courts. How shall the legislative representatives be related to the voters? How much variation in population, size and shape of assembly and senatorial districts shall be permitted? Shall districts follow county lines? Shall the legislature apportion itself or shall that be the duty of some other group? Prior to the U.S. Supreme Court rulings, which decreed a population standard for both houses, the New York legislature drew only the senate district lines. In all counties entitled to more than one assemblyman, the county board of supervisors (or, in New York City, the City Council), drew the assembly lines.

Michigan's experience is relevant. The courts have invalidated the 1962 convention's apportionment formula and caused the adoption of the Austin-Kleiner district plan which permits only 1 per cent variation in the senate and 3 per cent variation in the house. However, a charge of gerrymandering has been made against the plan.

The Michigan constitution set up an apportionment commission of eight members outside the legislature, composed of four Democrats and four Republicans, whose plans were subject to state supreme court review. The members of the commission have consistently split according to party lines, and the impasse persists without immediate remedy. New York could profit by this experience and designate the highest election official in the state, or a nonpartisan commission composed of an odd number of members, subject to judicial review. Insulating the apportionment job from the legislature and from partisanship appears wise. Few legislators will apportion themselves out of a job.

The judicial power is likewise strategic. Prof. Jack Weinstein of Columbia Law School has urged a state-financed court system for New York to achieve a "uniform equal system of justice." In this respect, Michigan

has adopted the Dean Roscoe Pound conception of "one court of justice for the state" divided into the supreme court, court of appeals and subordinate courts. This organization does permit greater supervisory control over the bench in the public interest.

Mayor Lindsay of New York City has vigorously proposed a "local option merit system" of judicial selection. He urges that the mayor be empowered to select local judicial officers from a list prepared by a judicial committee. This is merely a variation of the "Missouri Plan" advocated across the nation by the American Bar Association. Michigan's Republicans couldn't agree on the "Missouri Plan" but they did agree on removing from the governor the appointment power to fill judicial vacancies. They were determined not to let another Soapy Williams appoint judges for twelve years, but by taking this power away they also prevented Republican George Romney from appointing a large number of Republicans.

The allocation of power between state and local governments will need careful definition. Home rule and fiscal matters—taxation, expenditures, the budget—often conflict. The real behind-the-scenes power struggle on home rule is between the urban interests and the rural legislators who control the state capitols over who shall tax, who shall receive and how much. The big cities, New York or Detroit, with budgets equal to that of the state itself, must go cap in hand to the state capitol to secure funds and authority to meet their multiplying problems. But the rural representatives are most aware of the cities as sources of revenue, which fact, coupled with their legislative power, has led to rural indifference toward urban concerns. The state is the sovereign power and legally all of the sixty-two cities, 931 towns and 554 villages within New York are agents of the state. But as Frank Adams put it, "why should a resident of Niagara Falls have a determining voice on how much New York City should charge for a subway ride?"

One solution tendered by students of the problem is that cities be delegated power to legislate locally on all matters not specifically excluded in home-rule laws. However, what would be within and without city powers would still be a question. The problem is to grant cities power to meet their problems and yet preserve the power of the state to intervene to prevent misconduct. Governor Roosevelt's action during the Jimmy Walker administration is an example of the occasionally needed state action.

Constitutional conventions have generally not altered basically the Bill of Rights in the states. However, New York may consider eliminating literacy in English as a voting requirement, lowering the voting age to 18 and restricting wire tapping. It may also wish to create in the constitution a civil rights commission, as Michigan has done, but with more explicit jurisdiction over housing. However, the dominant Bill of Rights issue in the New York convention will be church-state relations, particularly state aid to parochial schools. Pressure against separation of church and state is building up. Federal programs to aid education and fight poverty have contained provisions aiding religious institutions. Michigan passed an auxiliary services act, now being contested, that has national portent. New York Catholic spokesmen are vigorous and candid. J. Eugene McMahon of the Buffalo Catholic Charities said

he hoped the convention would "cut through shibboleths of separation and frozen doctrinaire positions on church and state to see and acknowledge the child who is to be served and educated." Dean Mulligan of Fordham Law School called Article 11, Section 3 "an anachronism of the know-nothing era." That provision reads:

Neither the state nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money . . . directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance . . . of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination.

If this provision is retained in New York, it will be a victory for those who want to protect religious freedom by keeping church and state separate. The national trend and Michigan's experience does not augur well for those who would confine the public treasury to public schools.

In a constitution, every sentence is important. Each line has relevance to the citizen's rights, liberty, property and power. Hence, no less significant than proposals on apportionment, the judiciary, taxation, home rule and church-state are a host of others, including, in New York, reorganization of the executive power over 133 state agencies that now re-

port to the governor, fiscal and budget reform, and such specific matters as education, elections, amendment and revision, local government.

The overriding problem in state constitution making is that of creating a mechanism of government that is responsive and responsible to the people's sovereign power. Responsiveness and responsibility can be attained only when power is both perceptible and accountable. Responsiveness and responsibility must also be reciprocal—between the governors and the governed. They can be greatly increased during the preparation for, and conduct and ratification of, a state constitution. The holding of such a convention is the occasion for converting the entire state into a vast classroom. Exclusive reliance upon a state preparatory commission for information and leadership is a mistake. Every school, classroom, student; every publication, foundation, community organization, business and trade union can be drawn into the political process of writing a constitution. There is no more democratic act. New York can capitalize on the experience of other states such as Michigan and influence the shape of self-government and federalism in the nation for a generation.

Legislatures: The 100-Year Lag

DAVID H. BEETLE

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"State Legislatures may be our most extreme example of institutional lag. . . . In their formal qualities they are largely 19th-century organizations, and they must, or should, address themselves to 20th-century problems." Faced with this preamble by Alexander Heard, Vanderbilt University chancellor and political scholar, the American Assembly's 1966 Arden House Conference on State Legislatures (now spawning more than a dozen regional conferences across the nation) had no doubt about the seriousness of the problem.

The state law-making (or buck-passing) bodies appear to be in a period of eclipse. Congress and the federal agencies are using aid programs (there are now more than 250 of them) to take over decision making in so many areas where the states were once sovereign that state legislatures run the risk of becoming mostly employment agencies for clerks, doorkeepers and lawyers.

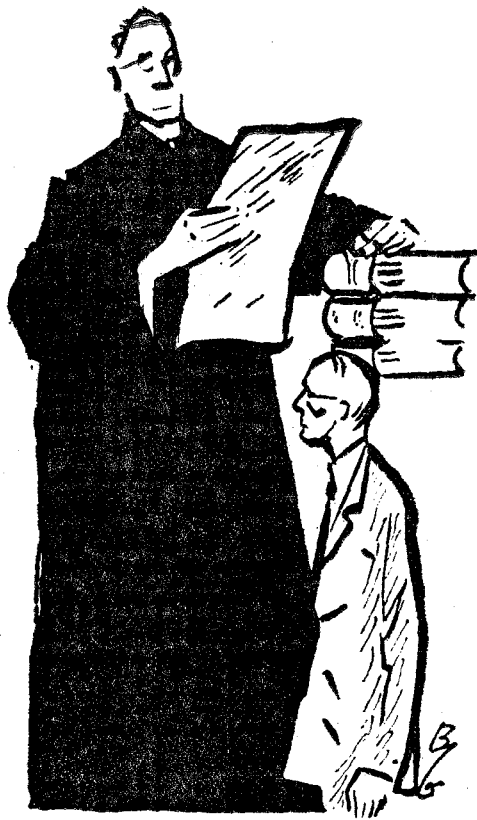
But just as the citizenry moved at the last moment to save the whooping crane from oblivion, groups have sprung up to see what can be done to get legislatures to adapt and survive. A recent conference held by the National Municipal League simply to coordinate these efforts brought out no less than nine national agencies. Collectively, they have nearly \$4 million to spend on the cause within the next two or three years. Much of it is Ford and Carnegie money.

Even without the inroads of federal aid, the action comes none too soon. James Q. Wilson, a Harvard political sci-

ence professor, has been moved by the flow of indictments following from the Massachusetts Crime Commission investigations to write an article in a recent Freedom House quarterly: "Corruption—the Shame of the States." Herein he observes that opportunities for boodle, lack of public attention from newspapers and civic groups (which are oriented toward national policies on the one hand, and to city problems on the other) and the continuance of a political ethos that places high value on "favors, personal loyalty and private gain," has visited on states evils that in the 19th century dominated cities.

The captain of this new reform movement is Jesse Unruh, the square-jawed, energetic Speaker of the California Assembly, who now heads the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders. The odds are getting to be ten to one that he'll be on hand wherever and whenever modernization of state legislatures is discussed nationally. One feels that he has found an outlet for energies which the facts of California politics have temporarily diverted from his quest for the governorship. It might be recalled here that in an earlier day, Alfred E. Smith, though an able New York assemblyman, made no impression on the assembly's antediluvian procedures, but went on, as governor, to reorganize the executive branch. A number of other states copied the New York reorganization. For lack of any parallel movement in the law-making branch, legislatures have fallen back on saying "yes" to the governor or—and this happens less often—opposing him with what few facts (if any) they are equipped to muster.

To give Unruh credit, he did his work at home before setting forth to convert the heathen. Earlier, to be sure, Californians had given him a better than usual base on which to build. If you go to Sacramento today you will



find the assembly teeming with foundation interns—bright young economists, political scientists and public administration aides, busy with depth research. You'll find a well-preserved system for analyzing the governor's budget, a sort of junior Library of Congress staff to answer legislators' queries regardless of party, and a merit civil service phalanx of legislative counsel.

The legislators themselves number only 120 (a low but efficient total for so populous a state). They have secretary-staffed offices both at home and in the capitol, an administrative assistant and, if committee chairmen, often a college-trained specialist. The legislators get \$6,000 salary, which sets no record in itself, but is supplemented by generous expense money and piece-work stipends for interim committee attendance. It is no paradise, but if all legislatures were as good as California's the current save-the-species drive wouldn't be so urgent.

The origins of this drive aren't entirely clear. Certainly the Supreme Court decision mandating one-man-one-vote representation played a role—if only because it made legislatures seem salvageable. Had they continued to be dominated by rural cliques, the urban and suburban voters might have entirely forgotten the state house in their "march on Washington." Indeed, the cities, fearing that one-man-one-vote favors the suburbs, are almost doing that.

One of the most promising efforts toward legislative reform has been the creation of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, a two-year-old idea that seems to have emerged out of the Ford Company's "community relations" program, a euphemism, perhaps, for "the Ford lobby." One may mistrust lobbyists, but it's a fact that of all people they are the ones most appalled by legislative goings on. This isn't as curious as it seems. Lobbyists tend

to believe thoroughly (even though blindly) in the righteousness of their cause. They like to think no sensibly run legislature would give them a hard time. Moreover, citizens—well, perhaps, the League of Women Voters excepted—tend to become interested in legislation only when taxes go up. But to lobbyists, the legislature—what it does and how it operates—is bread and butter. It's a rare citizen who knows one legislator well. What he knows, he may not like, but he still doesn't see legislative ineptness as epidemic. A lobbyist for a national organization—especially one who operates regionally—begins to get the broad picture.

The Citizens Conference, supported by Ford, Carnegie and such other funds as it can get, operates out of Kansas City, Mo., with former Kansas Governor John Anderson, Jr., as a working (half-time) board president. Its staff numbers about ten and includes George Morgan, a former lawyer-legislator from Missouri.

The organization started with the conviction that legislatures can no more reform themselves meaningfully without citizen committees than most of them could reapportion themselves without orders from the courts. Its first approach might be called "feminine": It made sure folks knew that it existed and waited for suitors to call. A few did: Illinois, Washington, Utah, Indiana, one or two others. By now it is beginning to take the initiative. The first result has been a Montana committee. By 1967, Governor Anderson hopes to have had an impact on sixteen states.

Another parallel effort is being made by the National Municipal League, which though interested in states, is historically saddled with "municipal" in its name. This year, using Ford Foundation money, it has moved state legislative reform to first priority. The league channeled funds to the American Assembly, which last spring brought to Columbia University's Arden House in the Hudson Highlands some seventy-six knowledgeable and concerned citizens to discuss legislative matters. After three days they pounded out a 6-page manifesto that tells legislatures the directions in which they ought to be moving. Regional assemblies to follow from this general conference will refine the recommendations to fit specific states.

From another quarter, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers used foundation funds last summer to bring together one or two reform-minded younger legislators from each of eighteen industrial states for a weeklong seminar in Miami. (Unruh was on the faculty, is on the board of the Citizens Conference, and was a conferee at Arden House.) Working with the Unruh-headed National Conference, the Rutgers group has set up a service center to answer legislative inquiries. For a fee, it will come into a state, study it and map out needed legislative reforms. New Jersey, Maryland and Rhode Island are the first customers.

There are other efforts. The long-time (but not always spectacularly successful) work of the National Legislative Conference, a Council of State Governments affiliate, continues. Through the years it has encouraged what turned out to be the painfully slow build-up of legislative services: bill drafting, research, fiscal analysis of state budgets. Unruh has been giving the Legislative Leaders group a reform twist. A new association for rank-and-file legislative members has been formed. The American Political Science Association has been given a \$1,250,000 grant to spend on

legislative reform—part of it to set up model orientation programs for new legislators in five states (the turnover averages about one-third each session). The League of Women Voters is concentrating on legislative operations in seventeen states. The Committee on Economic Development, which recently got out a chilling blast on municipal government, is shifting its attention to the states.

Most of the reformers think that what the patient needs—in most places anyway—is a quick transfusion of cash. (The median operations budget is now around \$2 million.) They think legislators should get better pay. (New Hampshire is rock bottom at what amounts to \$1.50 a day.) They would give them secretarial services, offices (some have only a desk), adequate research facilities, larger bill-drafting staffs, and sources for campaign funds better than well-heeled lobbyists.

They would consolidate committees (the two Mississippi houses have together a total of ninety-six), cut down on the size of most houses (tiny New Hampshire has more than 400 members in its lower house) and remove limits on the length of sessions. Some think legislatures should meet the year around, as does New Jersey's—or, for that matter, city councils.

The Arden House group was particularly eager to remove various kinds of constitutional hobbles, many of which were imposed in the early 1800s when legislatures seemed to be getting out of hand. It felt that legislative responsibility would emerge from an increase in legislative power, though there was a vocal minority that would prefer to see the responsibility come first.

There is wide agreement that most of the other problems would clear up if legislatures began attracting citizens of quality who would stay with the job and build up tenure. But no one seems to know how to achieve this. The Arden House meeting, curiously, declined to bind legislators by ethical standards—full disclosure of financial interests, limits on lawyer-legislator practice, and such—which might deter able candidates from running. One could, of course, argue that really ethical candidates would not be handicapped by such strictures.

A basic issue is whether a state—at least a big one—should in these days of complex legislation continue to get along with part-time lawmakers. It is argued that part-time legislators provide a better cross-section of the community. Actually, if lawyers, insurance men and other self-employed persons were removed from the New York State Legislature, the rest could be crowded into a Volkswagen. It is contended that full-time legislators could more easily be pressured, since if they failed of re-election they would lose their livelihood. Many see part-time legislators with exceptionally adequate staffs as a compromise.

There is also the question of unicameralism—at least it's a question outside Nebraska, where in 1937 Sen. George Norris, shackled neither by the past nor by the fact that the new capitol had two freshly gleaming chambers, persuaded the state to merge its two houses into one. The Arden House conference (where Nebraska was not represented, by the way) waded into the unicameralism issue gingerly, despite the fact that one of its sponsors, the National Municipal League, has stuck with one house through six editions of its Model State Constitution. While the

conferees weren't sure there was much wrong with unicameralism, they seemed to feel that if they came out for it strongly they would get branded as "eggheads" or "dreamers" and that their other recommendations would suffer.

Those who have recently been advocating unicameralism around the country get the impression that the man in the street is readier to accept it than the politicians. The difficulty is that in more than half the states there's no very practical way for the citizens, as distinguished from the politicians, to effect unicameralism even if they want it. In short, it faces the same obstacles that delayed reapportionment until the courts stepped in.

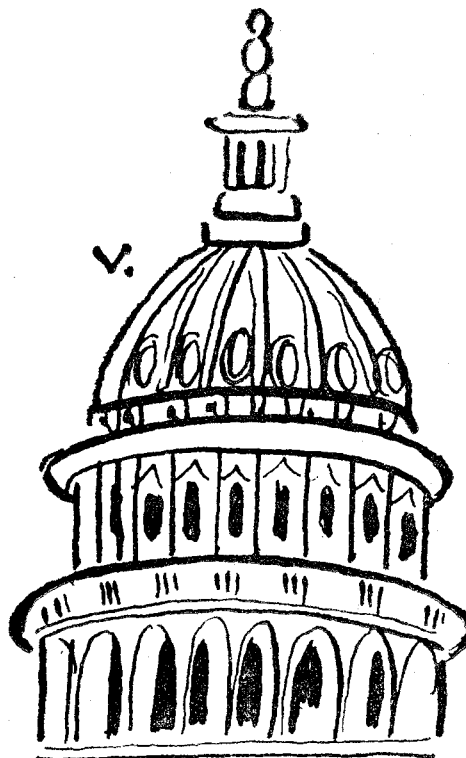
It seems to me that most groups pressing for legislative reform give too little attention to one of the root evils: rotten politics.

"Vigorous party organizations should be encouraged within a state and its legislature," the Arden House group agreed. "Well-organized majority and opposition parties contribute to effective and responsible legislative performance. Organization of the legislature should be on a partisan basis in two-party states and the majority party should elect all officers except the officers and leaders of the minority party."

This is a sort of Apostles' Creed for both politicians and political scientists, and its weakness is not that it is completely untrue but that it leaves so much unsaid.

Professor Wilson in his article on legislative corruption has this to say:

One can be reasonably confident that much the same results could be produced by similar commissions in many other states, particularly industrial states of the Northeast such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the like. Many of these states would never have been described as "pure" by Lord Bryce at any stage of their history (he singled out New York and Pennsylvania as having legislatures that were "confessedly among the worst"); about all that seems to



have happened in the last fifty years is that, on the whole, their governors have become more respectable and their political parties have become more disorganized, thereby transforming what once was well-organized machine-like corruption into disorganized, free-lance corruption.

Simply to have "a well-organized majority and opposition parties" (to use the Arden House phrase) is not enough. It depends on what they are organized for. The New York State Republicans have been second to none in their praise for the virtues of "party responsibility," but one can wonder at the result when for eight years this responsibility led to the door of a state chairman who has since been found guilty of bribery to obtain liquor licenses.

Most Nebraska political scientists feel that George Norris overshot the mark when he banned partisanship in the one-house legislature. This particular feature of the Nebraska legislative set-up is something of a well-kept secret. Thus it's no trick at all to find people who know that Nebraska's legislature has only one house, but the equally unique circumstance that in a two-party state the legislature, elected without regard to party, has no minority or majority leader, is seldom noised around.

"That silence is the worst thing about it," may be a typical political scientist's reaction to this second Nebraska innovation, but it is not the whole answer to Senator Norris. He argued: (a) that political parties are mostly interested in jobs and favors; (b) that if legislators are elected under the banner of the major national parties, they often win or lose on national rather than state issues.

"If I had a Democratic legislature," says Gov. Frank B. Morrison, a Nebraska Democrat, "it might pass something because I proposed it. If I had a Republican legislature, it might kill something for the same reason. Neither is good. With a nonpartisan legislature, my proposals are more likely to get considered on their merits."

In 1935, Thomas C. Desmond, a veteran member of the New York State Senate from Newburgh, argued in an article, "Those Dinosaurs, the State Legislatures," that party organization operated in such a way in his state that good men were discouraged from running for the legislature because, when elected, they found themselves simply voting as they were told. There is a striking conformity between this view and the observation two summers ago by Mrs. Fern Hubbard Orme, a Nebraska legislator, who said: "I'm sure if I had a majority leader I wouldn't do half as much as I do now. He would be calling the boys in and telling them what to do. From what I've heard of other legislatures there's a lot of goofing off."

Other states may not want to follow Nebraska's nonpartisanship, but the gap between a truly "responsible party" and one that is simply "well organized" is too wide to be ignored. Parties can be more interested in jobs or favors than in pushing sound government. They can be more interested in getting a governor nominated for President than in serving the state. Minorities can be alert critics or they can "sell out."

Unless the reformers come to grips with this situation (the Arden House group coped with it only peripherally when it urged new methods of financing campaigns), encouraging legislators to spend more money on salaries, office space, research, bill drafting and such will do no more

than expand the boodle. New York's legislature in the two years, 1964 and 1965, cost \$23.3 million. That is \$4 million above the sum for California and \$20 million above the national average, but it is difficult to find a major legislative area in which New York excels. There is no evidence that successive salary boosts in recent years have raised the caliber of men attracted to the job. A few New York legislators stand out like skyscrapers in Moscow—but a few always have.

The New York legislators—and in this they are probably typical—complain that a legislative image is bound to be bad because legislators are referees, constantly making compromises among warring groups in the community. And nobody likes "the ump." The fact is that too often legislatures compromise between warring groups when they ought to be figuring out who's right and who's wrong and then taking decisive action. For nearly two centuries—or until 1966—the New York legislature "compromised" on the divorce issue by doing nothing.

A really good umpire gets respect, if not love. Legislatures, indeed, seem to work overtime figuring out ways to get a bad image, yet at the same time "image" seems to be their perennial concern. It was placed early on the 1964 agenda of the National Conference of Legislative Leaders. The delegates discussed it at a four-day migratory convention that touched down at Reno, Carson City, Lake Tahoe and Las Vegas—locales that didn't appreciably improve *its* image.

The discussion was led by the then New York speaker, Joseph Carlino (R., Nassau) who, when he failed reelection in the Johnson landslide, turned up in 1966 as a race-track lobbyist. He took the job within the two-year waiting period required by the state's new ethics code for legislators who turn lobbyists, but the assembly ethics committee (without calling in its two ex officio advisers, the State Bar Association head and a law school dean) decided that the code was passed too late to apply to Carlino. The ex-speaker's friends argued that he was showing unusual integrity when he even bothered to ask for the committee's opinion, but it's hard to believe that the total incident helped the legislative image much.

In the same year, the New York assembly devoted a half-hour to eulogizing a former assemblyman who died in a New York City hospital after being convicted of conspiring to bribe a detective. No one would argue over a conventional resolution of respect, but the average citizen may have had trouble believing his ears when he heard that the legislature gained stature by this man's presence.

As for the National Conference of Legislative Leaders (to show what its new president, Speaker Unruh, has inherited), it finished up that trip in New Orleans, where its members were guests at a huge reception put on by the air lines, took a Mississippi River boat ride at the invitation of the brewing industry (it was decided at the last minute that something stronger than beer would also be served), and arranged that Southern Bell Telephone would handle its press room.

The way to meaningful legislative reform looks long and tortuous. The premise of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures—that nothing much will happen unless civic-minded citizens get interested and active—is the only prediction certain to come true.

AMERICA'S PRESS ON SAFARI

FRANCIS POLLOCK

Mr. Pollock spent three years in Africa working for the United States Government.

The United States is becoming more and more involved in the destiny of South Africa. In that unhappy country, where 3 million whites rule 14 million nonwhites—exploiting their labor and denying their right of self-determination—American investment continues to mount, continues to support in no small way a nation which almost certainly must face a painful day of reckoning.

Here in the United States, South Africa's official spokesmen have been wooing American opinion on the basis of five contentions which have proved dramatically effective, though there is considerable reason to question their accuracy:

- ¶ That South Africa is a bulwark against communism.
- ¶ It has a stable government, and a lucrative, fully protected investment climate.
- ¶ It is Western civilization's staunchest defender on the continent.
- ¶ The great Bantu migrations into its territory occurred only after the whites had settled South Africa.
- ¶ The whites are properly providing for the well-being of the blacks through the policy of separate development.

At the heart of South Africa's official propaganda activities is the South African Information Service (SAIS). It distributes magazines, subsidizes books, makes available radio and television tapes, produces travel films and attempts constantly to improve its image in the American press. One of the ways by which it attempts to solicit approval is to offer our journalists free trips to South Africa. Fifteen such writers were selected to take an expenses-paid tour of South Africa in 1965; fourteen more made the trip this year at a reported cost to the South African Government of \$35,000. That is slightly less than the cost of six

full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*, a form of propaganda also pursued by SAIS. Such ads, of course, must bear the imprint required by the Justice Department; the glowing testimonials of journalists do not.

A few samples of articles written in conjunction with the tours indicate what returns South Africa gets on its hospitality.

Ed Fitzhugh, editor of the *Phoenix Gazette*, wrote at least fourteen articles for his paper, the last of which was headlined: "Bantus, Whites Both Sold On Race Policy." Mr. Fitzhugh quoted one African who, he wrote, "is typical of many blacks." According to the account, the African piously declared: "I think I am better off under the government here than I would be if the government were all black, as in the north. I do not want to change."

Thomas Waring, editor of the *Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier*, made the trip last year. So too in 1966 did R. C. Hoiles, an ardent Goldwater supporter, and the publisher of the extreme right-wing *Freedom Newspapers*.

Brig. Gen. Frank Howley (Ret.), former vice president of New York University, has as yet written little as a result of his South African tour, but his secretary says that he intends to do so. In 1955, the General produced a lengthy defense of the Chiang Kai-shek government for the *Hearst newspapers*. Much as South Africa is trying to convince Americans that it is the staunchest anti-Communist nation in Africa, General Howley wrote eleven years ago that Nationalist China was the key anti-Communist nation of Asia. "If we Americans now allow Chiang Kai-shek's troops—our allies—to be eliminated . . . we won't have a friend left in Asia. All of Asia, I am convinced, would go Communist."

George N. Crocker writes for the *San Francisco Examiner*. Among other things in his African series, he pictured black Africans as actors in a comic opera, who owe whatever progress they have made solely to the white man. About an Organization of African Unity meeting in Addis Ababa, he wrote: "In the name of peace, they [are planning] to contrive fresh mischief against peaceful Rhodesia."

And in an article from Johannesburg headlined, "South African Boom: Blacks Want In," he picked up where General Howley left off with the Nationalist Chinese:

More importantly, the South Africans are anti-Communist and loyally pro-West. They are the most reliable opposition to communism on the African continent and to the outflanking of Europe, which is known to be a major objective of both the Russian and Chinese apparatus of the world Communist conspiracy.

It appears that in the past there has been an occasional fly in the junket. Joseph Lelyveld, the *New York Times* correspondent who was recently forced to leave South Africa, writes in a letter:

Most ordinary American journalists whom it brings out "double-cross" it by writing nasty things. So it concentrates now on right wingers. (Recently it toured a



Franklin, London Daily Mirror: Ben Roth

"I will walk further along the road set by Hendrik Verwoerd."—Vorster

bunch of journalists from what was described here as a "cross-section of right-wing American newspapers.") At the moment, William J. Simpson, head of the Citizens Council of America, of Jackson, Miss., is getting the tour. . . .

H. Louwrens Buurmans, deputy director of SAIS in New York, also describes the 1966 group as being "more representative."

On the whole, though, South Africa has reason to be pleased with its journalistic tourism, particularly since the five elements of South African propaganda were repeated over and over in the subsequent stories—and repeated by ostensibly responsible journalists, who gave little or no indication of how or by whom these "observation tours" were financed.

On the other hand, South African officials are distinctly chilly toward newsmen and scholars who the country feels would not present its case to the American public. Mr. Lelyveld's experience is an appropriate example. Without giving a reason, the South African Government informed him in mid-April that his visa would not be renewed when it expired on April 28.

The adventures of Henry Morgenthau III, a producer at WGBH-TV, Boston, are also instructive. In May, 1964, National Educational Television commissioned him to do a film on South Africa. SAIS in New York led him to believe that if he were willing to make his picture in the Transkei (the first of South Africa's Bantu homelands), there would be little trouble in procuring a visa. He agreed, but after a three-month wait, received a one-sentence letter, informing him that his visa application had been rejected, and a State Department appeal to the South African ambassador was unavailing.

Determined, nevertheless, to make the film, Mr. Morgenthau set up a corporation in the names of a Canadian and a Briton, arranged a tie-in with an educational television station in the South, and in their names sent a letter to SAIS on corporation stationery, explaining that the people in the American South would be interested in a film on South Africa, to be done by the corporation's production team. The permission came with no difficulty.

In the meantime, Morgenthau located a black South African student here who was willing to go home and shoot some film. The Canadian and Briton were sent with instructions to film anything the government would permit; the South African went to get shots secretly. After five months of work, he presented himself to South African customs with rolls of film in packages marked "Zulu beads" and "Christmas gifts." He got them through, reached America safely and plans to stay here permanently.

From both sets of films, Morgenthau produced *South African Essay*. At SAIS in New York he is dismissed as a Communist sympathizer.

A striking instance of the support South Africa receives in some segments of the American press is the reaction to the Carnegie Endowment's study, "Apartheid and the United Nations—Collective Measures." One of the most thorough published analyses of the subject, the study includes an appendix which considers the logistics of possible military measures against South Africa. Like a spark

in gasoline, it touched off a violent reaction in the conservative press.

Vernon McKay, one of the authors of the Carnegie monograph, outlined in a recent *New Republic* article at least four different "devil theories" invented by critics to explain who "really" originated the alleged battle plan. Supposedly, wrote Dr. McKay, those responsible for the study were the United Nations, the Council on Foreign Relations, the State Department or unnamed, "naive, 'liberalistic' elements who control and corrupt our foreign policy."

Some of the adverse reactions follow:

Barry Goldwater wrote in his column of August 8, 1965: "If [the Carnegie Endowment thinks] the separation of

In the last two years, the following journalists have traveled to South Africa on tours sponsored by SAIS:

1965

Jeanne Bellamy, *Miami Herald*.
 Jack Cowie, Columbus (Ohio) *Dispatch*.
 Devin Garrity, Devin-Adair Co., New York.
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry Holzer, *Verdict Magazine*, New York.
 Brig. Gen. Frank Howley, U.S.A. (Ret.), former vice president of NYU and author.
 Richard Laney, Salt Lake City *Deseret News*.
 Edwin McDowell, Phoenix *Republican*.
 Paul McKalip, Tucson *Daily Citizen*.
 Walter Mickelson, New Ulm (Minn.) *Daily Journal*.
 Charles Pierson, St. Louis *Globe Democrat*.
 George Shannon, Shreveport (La.) *Journal*.
 Mrs. Esther Van Wagoner Tufty, Tufty News Bureau, Washington.
 Thomas R. Waring, Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier*.
 Dorothy Williams, Washington correspondent for newspapers in Iowa and elsewhere in U.S.

1966

Louis C. Harris, Augusta (Ga.) *Herald*.
 John W. Jarrell, Omaha *World-Herald*, Washington Bureau.
 Peter H. Binzen, *Philadelphia Bulletin*.
 J. Warren McClure, Burlington *Free Press*, Vermont.
 John O. Hjelle, Bismarck (N. D.) *Tribune*.
 R. C. Hoiles, Freedom Newspapers, California.
 Priscilla Buckley, *National Review*.
 Edwin A. Fitzhugh, Phoenix *Gazette*.
 Niel Heard, National Federation of Independent Business, Washington, D.C.
 Col. L. Robert Castorr (Ret.), National Federation of Independent Business.
 Edgar C. Bundy, Church League of America, Illinois.
 B. J. McQuaid, New Hampshire *Sunday News*.
 George N. Crocker, *Sunday Examiner & News Call Bulletin*, San Francisco.
 E. K. Livermore, *Sapulpa Herald*, Oklahoma.

—Source: South African Info. Service

racism in South Africa is worth UN invasion, what must they think about Communist segregation?"

He then attacked the Endowment for not criticizing the policies of Russia and China.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* and *Alabama Journal* editorialized on August 7, 1965: South Africa is the greatest anti-Communist bastion in Africa. It is proposed [by the Carnegie report] that Uncle Sam join Nasser, Algeria, Ghana, Indonesia and Russia in destroying this anti-Communist ally. . . . This is all a vicious lunacy."

The Manchester (N. H.) *Union-Leader* devoted a front-page editorial to the subject (the editor of the *Union-Leader's* Sunday newspaper, the *New Hampshire Sunday News*, made the expenses-paid trip to South Africa):

As it is, white South Africa—which don't forget, was founded by white people before there were any black people in that part of Africa—is a prosperous, modern nation of skyscraper cities, great gold and diamond mines, steel production, a great Western civilization. . . .

This nation has a right to know, at a time when American boys are dying in Viet Nam to stop the Communist expansion in Asia, that an organization in this country is secretly plotting to have more American boys killed in Africa, not in the interests of peace, but in the interests of forwarding the Communist conquest of that continent.

The Liberty Lobby—which says it represents more than 150,000 families—wrote in its September, 1965, issue:

South Africa's "problem" seems to be that it is the only remaining free nation on that unhappy continent. . . . And even worse (to the Liberal mind), its leaders have indicated that they will not turn their varied peoples over to the Communists and cannibals.

Articles such as these prompt officials of SAIS to say

that they feel South Africa's image is improving in the American press.

Perhaps the only American Africa-oriented organization of any significance that can be described as conservative is the American African Affairs Association (4A). Predictably, it is a friend of South Africa, and of Rhodesia and Portugal as well.

It was established in the fall of 1965, "to seek out and disseminate the truth" about Africa "without reference to prevailing shibboleths." Co-chaired by William Rusher, publisher of *National Review*, and Dr. Max Yergan, a Negro, 4A has made an ambitious attempt to turn conservative thought to Africa. In its initial bid for public support, the group's sponsors said they hoped to solicit a first-year budget of \$161,000, of which \$70,000 was to come in grants from "African sources."

Although 4A quickly procured tax-exempt status as an "educational organization" from the Internal Revenue Service, some of its enemies are currently trying to convince the Justice Department that it is merely an American spokesman for the Rhodesian, South African and Portuguese Governments. They find suspicious the fact that 4A and the Office of Rhodesian Affairs in Washington have used the same postage meter (Pitney-Bowes No. 102150).

Among the "educational" material churned out so far by 4A are elaborate defenses of the Rhodesian Government and a grotesque book, *The Fabric of Terror*. Patently racist in tone, the book defends the atrocities committed by Portuguese troops in quelling the Angolan uprising of 1961. It was published by the Devin-Adair Co., whose president, Devin Garrity, made the expenses-paid trip to South Africa in 1965.

THE PILOT SHORTAGE

KARL M. RUPPENTHAL

An air-line pilot for more than twenty years, Mr. Ruppenthal is director of the Transportation Management Program at Stanford University.

The air lines are running out of pilots. Already acute, the shortage shows no signs of abating in the near future; indeed there are indications that it may become the most bothersome personnel problem with which the air lines must contend. For lack of men trained to air-line standards, one major company was forced last year to cancel some 2,000 hours of scheduled flights. That comes to about 1 million plane miles—sufficient capacity to transport 48,000 people from San Francisco to New York together with several hundred tons of baggage, air mail and freight. The potential revenue represented is on the order of \$10 million. In 1966, some flights are being canceled; others have been consolidated. But most of the loss will be in proposed flights that might have been scheduled had there been pilots to operate them.

At first thought it is surprising that the air transport in-

dustry could allow such an incredible shortage to occur. It is not, after all, one of those stodgy, tradition-burdened industries in which change always produces crisis. It is young and exciting, and from the start its technology has changed rapidly, with each change usually bringing new and complex problems. Since the industry was born, each new generation of planes has been markedly better than its predecessors. When the lines graduated from the DC-3 to the DC-6, a pilot's productivity (and his revenue potential) increased some 500 per cent—a fact that allowed one major air line to cut its pilot force in half in a single year.

Productivity rose again with the arrival of the jets. Indeed, at the dawn of the jet age flight crew members so feared the impending loss of jobs that the air lines were swept by the greatest scourge of strikes the industry has ever seen. Industrial relations executives spent much time devising plans for employee retrenchment and gave little thought to the possibility that still more pilots might be needed. Some of them were so busy trying to convince union negotiators that there was no need to write a "no lay-off" clause in the contract, since no reduction in force was in prospect, that they

failed to plan for the possibility that their arguments might be true.

Management had never needed to worry about the source of new pilots. Something like 85 per cent of all air-line pilots learned to fly at the expense of the taxpayers in some military organization. At the end of the Korean War so many ex-military pilots sought flying jobs that the air lines could afford to be selective. Some firms did not even bother to acknowledge an inquiry unless the applicant had an instrument rating and several thousand hours of multi-engine transport experience. And regardless of the number of hours they might have logged, the thousands of fighter pilots were seldom given a second glance; it was generally assumed that it would be too expensive to retrain them and to break them of their daredevil habits.

In those years an applicant had to be physically fit, between the ages of 21 and 27, not too short, not too tall, reasonably intelligent and handsome enough to have "the pilot look"—whatever that phrase might mean to the interviewing officials. Even after passing several intelligence tests, a flight proficiency check and a rigorous physical examination, an applicant could be rejected if he did not meet the interviewer's notions of personality, poise or promise.

Once hired (there were occasional openings), the new pilot was on probation for a year, during which time he could be discharged for any reason whatsoever—performance, whim or caprice. Not until he had passed through those limbo months could he join the Air Line Pilots Association and gain some job security.

At the end of the Korean War the stream of pilots discharged by the military resembled the running of the smelt. To this abundance was added the product of the services' flight schools, which were programed to operate at war-time levels and were not immediately shut down. While no reliable statistics have been gathered, the indications are that a hundred qualified pilots were available for every air-line vacancy.

Now all this has changed. Operating under more stringent financial controls, the armed services have been hard put to train as many pilots as they would like to have. As military airplanes have become more complex, the expense of training a pilot has risen. The Defense Department estimates that it now costs \$100,000 to train a single pilot. Since the outlay per man has risen faster than the budget available for flight training, the number of pilots in training has been cut. And money is not the only reason for reducing the pilot training program. Rockets, helicopters and other space-age devices have all but made military planes obsolete.

The large post-Korean pilot reservoir is now mainly dried up. Many of these former fliers are established in other occupations and cannot be lured back to flying. But in addition, most of those who would still be willing to give the air lines a try are too old for the job.

The other face of the pilot shortage problem is the fact that the air lines are doing so well today. Long accustomed to an annual growth rate of about 10 per cent, the industry was shaken in the late 1950s when the anticipated rise did not occur, and the president of one of the larger carriers remarked ruefully that the days of substantial air-line

growth were over. He reasoned that the planes had already enticed most of the passengers away from the railroads and the bus lines, and that additional increase of air travel could come only with population growth. His company's economists dutifully predicted an annual growth of some 3 per cent—perhaps as high as 5 per cent if competition was not on its toes.

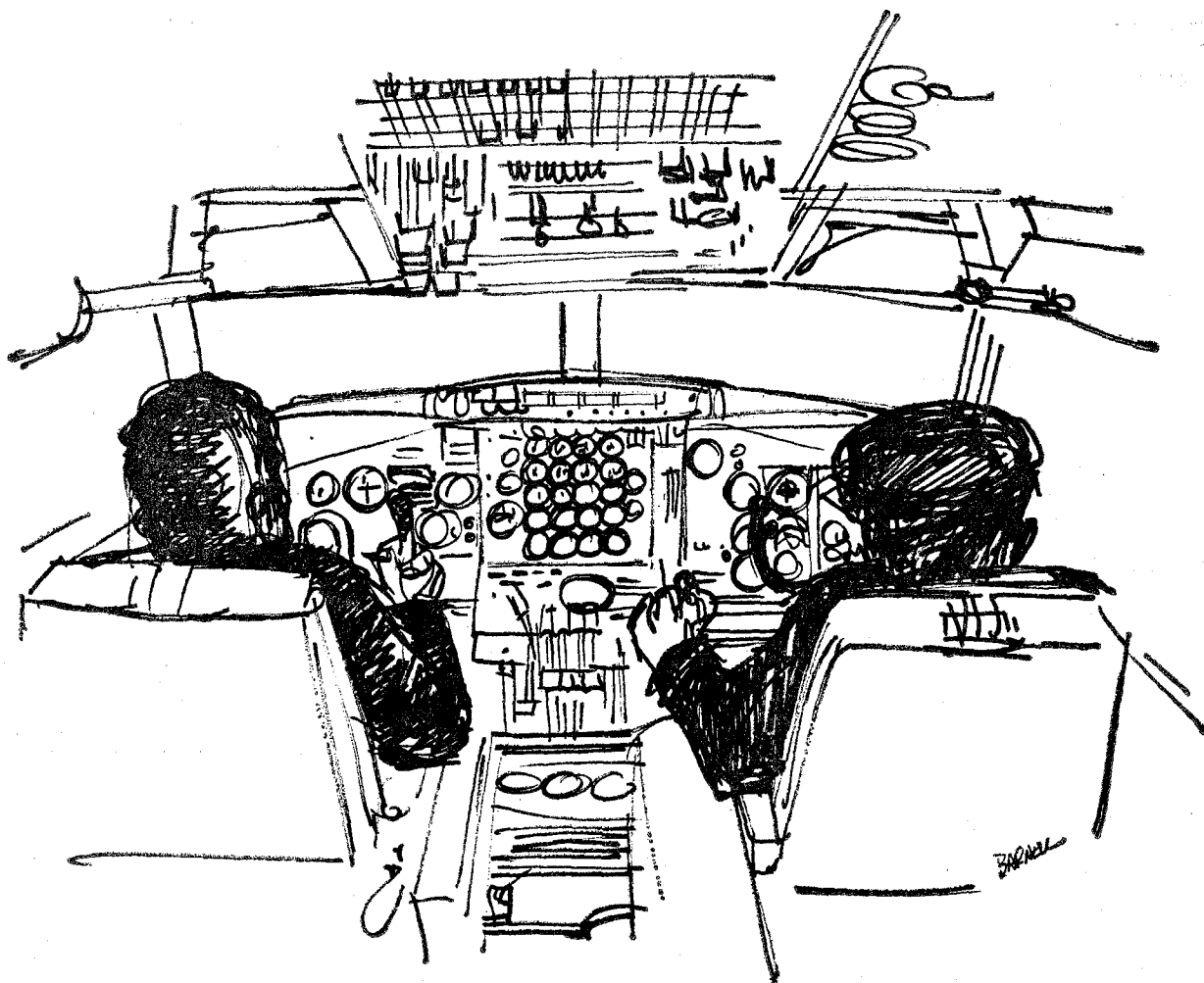
But in 1964, U.S. air-line travel increased some 20 per cent. One line recorded a 30 per cent increase, and followed it with another 30 per cent in 1965. Early 1966 figures indicate that another phenomenal year is in prospect.

This boom comes at a time when the pilot force is getting a little old. Many of those now flying were hired during the last great air-line expansion of some twenty years ago, and are now between the ages of 45 and 50. The mandatory retirement age is 60, and since pilots must meet rigorous physical standards a good number will drop out sooner.

It is understandable, then, that air-line financial officers are unhappy. The lack of but one jet-qualified Boeing 707 captain for one year could cut revenue as much as \$4 million. But more is involved than the loss of immediate dollars. If an air line finds itself acutely short of pilots, it may have to curtail its schedules, and a more foresighted competitor will jump to fill the gap. Furthermore, several lucrative major air-line routes still remain to be awarded. (The forthcoming Pacific route case will be the largest the Civil Aeronautics Board has ever handled.) Part of an air line's argument for being awarded new routes consists in proving that if it were certified, it would be capable of providing the service. An air line that is understaffed would be at a distinct disadvantage; to serve the new route, it might be forced to curtail service elsewhere, and the Civil Aeronautics Board does not favor that procedure.

The situation is flavored with irony. The embarrassing pilot shortage could have been much more severe had it not been for certain actions by the Air Line Pilots Association, which were strenuously resisted at the time by the management of several air lines. When the jets arrived, there was considerable controversy as to the appropriate composition of a cockpit crew. The ALPA established a jet study committee whose function, among others, was to study the work load in the cockpit. This group learned what it could from the jet experience of the military and from the operation of the British Comet (the first commercial jet in the air). Those studies convinced the pilots that the new aircraft would be sufficiently complicated and the traffic patterns sufficiently tangled to require two full-time pilots in the cockpit. Since there is always the possibility that one pilot may die or be otherwise disabled, the ALPA vigorously asserted that a third pilot should be added as a safety factor. Meanwhile the Flight Engineers International Association, fearing that the new planes would displace them from their jobs, declared that if there was to be a third man in any cockpit he must be qualified as a mechanic (and thus a member of the FEIA).

The controversy was resolved on several air lines by installing four men in the cockpit: captain, first officer, second officer and mechanic-trained flight engineer. It is that pool of second officers, literally forced on several air lines by the threat of a pilots' strike, that today enables those



air lines to man their planes. Subsequent agreements between the air lines and the two unions have provided for pilot training for the mechanic-qualified flight engineer. As these men (who have a wealth of cockpit experience) qualify as pilots, they can assume the duties of the second officer and the second officer can in turn upgrade to copilot in relatively short time.

Of course, one man's problem is another man's opportunity. Young men with the urge to fly have a better chance to fulfill their dream than they have had in a good many years. Today a pilot can find work with virtually any U.S. air line, and perhaps with a foreign carrier or two. Less flying experience is required of a new recruit than at any time since World War II. This is not to say that standards will be lowered or that the copilot seat on a jet will be filled by "200-hour wonders" fresh from Piper Cubs. But it does mean that a pilot with relatively little flying experience can get his foot into the door and receive his future training at the air line's expense.

There are other ramifications to this sellers' market. The pilot shortage has already bid up the free market (non-union) price for pilots. Fixed-base operators, nonscheduled air lines and corporations that operate their own planes are already feeling the pinch. And since salaries for non-union pilots have advanced sharply in some quarters, it is likely that the unionized segment of aviation (virtually all air line pilots) will soon feel that the time has come to talk wages.

The pilot shortage will also affect the armed services.

They have always had trouble persuading qualified pilots to be content with a military career. Aside from the hazards of combat, there is the possibility that a promotion will not be forthcoming or that a man will be declared surplus because of a budget cut. The enemy may declare peace and then large numbers of pilots will again be thrown onto the civilian market. Air line jobs are available now.

The pilot shortage could have meaning for Negroes, Puerto Ricans and members of other minority groups. Traditionally, pilots in the United States have come from middle-class white families. While employment has not specifically been denied to Negroes and the other minorities, exceedingly few of them have been able to become pilots in the military or to accumulate the requisite flying experience in other ways. Today, with pre-employment requirements sharply reduced, their chances are better than ever before.

Suddenly aware of the immensity of the problem, the air lines are looking for long-term solutions. Several possibilities have been suggested. The Civilian Pilot Training Program (CPT) of the 1940s could be reactivated. In that scheme, selected universities throughout the country provided the classroom training while nearby flight schools taught the flying itself. A new CPT would no doubt produce pilots, but it might be hard to persuade Congress to underwrite industry's training needs in this fashion today.

A second possibility is to provide substantially the same

type of training but to do it under guise of national urgency (legally there is no national emergency today). An increased number of pilots could be trained for the military forces and the surplus turned over to the air lines. While this approach undoubtedly would have an easier time in Congress, it would be very expensive. It costs considerably more to train a pilot in a military flying school than it does under a civilian program. Further, there is no assurance that, once they had trained a pilot, the military would be eager to release him to the air lines.

A third proposal is that the government (through the Federal Aviation Agency) set up a gigantic pilot training program. A tremendous new flight school (perhaps in a politically important state) would undertake to train all the pilots for the air lines. Selection, training and testing would be standardized in the hope of producing a uniform product. While it is true that the air lines' managerial prerogatives would be seriously curtailed by such a program and that individualism might suffer in many ways, pro-

ponents of the scheme point out that it would be inexpensive for the air lines since the taxpayers would foot the bill.

A fourth approach to the pilot shortage is the suggestion that the air lines "grow their own." Already two of the major air lines are experimenting. Selected college graduates are given intelligence tests, a physical examination and several subjective tests. Once they are over these hurdles, they get a commitment of a job from the air line, provided only that they obtain a commercial pilot's license at an approved flight school. One air line will even finance the training, making arrangements for repayment through subsequent payroll deductions.

If this program is successful, and there are signs that it may be, the industry will be able to rescue itself from the pilot shortage. Equally important, it will demonstrate to the air lines that they can handle complex problems on their own, without continually running to the federal government for help.

LETTERS (continued from page 466)

tween a politician who thinks like a liberal and acts like a reactionary, and one who thinks like a reactionary and acts like a reactionary, there is really no choice.

Mrs. Marvin Shinbrot

contribution

New York City

DEAR SIR: Your Literature of the Holocaust section [Oct. 17] is another vital contribution *The Nation* is making (above most first-rate journals, it seems), in its concern and responsibility to the world we are in.

Joseph Wiseman

the war ahead

APO, San Francisco

DEAR SIR: I commend John McDermott's "Welfare Imperialism in Vietnam" [*The Nation*, July 25] as being what I consider the best indictment of the war in print.

We have tried to enforce our middle-class values and prosperity upon a people who have rejected them (us). The Vietnamese peasants have challenged the very substance of our society (i.e., middle-class prosperity). Our reaction has been to destroy the peasants themselves, thereby ignoring (or trying to) the profound challenge to our way of life which they represent.

I can only conclude that it looks as if the greatest war this century has seen is still in front of us. . . .

Pfc. Darrel L. Welshans

McCarran, Smith and freedom

Ithaca, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Frank Donner, reviewing my book, *Expanding Liberties* [*The Nation*, Sept. 26], has written as if I approve the Smith Act and the McCarran Act. I cannot see how he could possibly have come to such an opinion if he has read Chapter IV of the book.

Regarding the Smith Act, on pages 118-119 and 122 I make it clear that I am on the side of the dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas; and on page 133 your reviewer will find this statement by me:

The Smith Act and the cases which it spawned

do not add up to a chapter in American history that can be read with pride. It has a nightmarish effect that evokes the question: Was it all real? Could it possibly be that mature, sophisticated men, in high office, could have thought that America's security and freedom would be strengthened by these actions?

Nor do I need to be told by your reviewer that President Truman attacked the McCarran Act in his veto message. On page 140 he will find a summary of that veto message, and on pages 149 and 151 he will discover that I condemn that act in words that no reader could possibly misunderstand, for I say: "President Truman's condemnation of the act in his veto message has been amply sustained by the events since 1950. . . . President Truman was right: the act is both nonsense and bad law."

Milton R. Konvitz

New York City

DEAR SIR: Dr. Konvitz misses the point of my criticism, which is not that he approves the repressive laws and court decisions in question but rather that the tyranny of his "progress" thesis has forced him to minimize their significance, to ignore their political and social context and, indeed, to cite them as evidence of "freedom's gains." His *ultimate evaluations of their historic role* . . . are that the Smith Act and the cases applying it did not turn out to be so bad after all; that the widely deplored McCarran Act procedures are "fair . . . genuine and superior" and that (most remarkably of a law that has been characterized by experts as the most repressive ever enacted in our history) the McCarran Act, together with its 1954 outlawry amendment (passed during a wild, tumultuous session of Congress at the height of McCarthyism), are "a tribute to the moderation and good sense of Congress [and] are not an expression of extremism. . . ."

For more than twenty years, Congress and the courts have permitted an anti-Communist fixation to deny full play to the right of political dissent guaranteed in the Constitution. Dr. Konvitz should have frankly acknowledged the existence of this historic impasse instead of eking out spurious reasons for taking comfort from "freedom's gains. . . ."

Frank J. Donner

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Ireland Rehearses the Future

THE MAKING OF MODERN IRELAND, 1603-1922. By J. C. Beckett. Alfred A. Knopf. 496 pp. \$8.95.

IRELAND SINCE THE RISING. By Timothy Patrick Coogan. Frederick A. Praeger. 355 pp. \$6.95.

KEVIN SULLIVAN

Mr. Sullivan is associate dean of the Graduate Faculties at Columbia University and the author of *Joyce Among the Jesuits* (Columbia University Press).

One, perhaps the only, stable element in Irish history has been the land. Irish writers, the best of them—from Maria Edgeworth to Patrick Kavanaugh—have always known this instinctively. In Yeats, despite his imaginative claim to the inheritance of “Goldsmith and the Dean, Berkeley and Burke” and the traditions of intellectual elegance handed down to him from 18th-century Ireland, this elemental instinct was early cultivated and, toward the end, openly asserted:

*John Synge, I and Augusta Gregory, thought
All that we did, all that we said or sang
Must come from contact with the soil, from that
Contact everything Antaeus-like grew strong.
We three alone in modern times had brought
Everything down to that sole test again.*

Here, as elsewhere, Yeats claims a little too much. He and his friends did not construct that “test,” nor did they have any exclusive claim to it. What they actually did was to articulate what had always been part of the instinctive knowledge of the Irish peasantry, and this knowledge under the scrutiny of a critical and historically alert intelligence enabled them to find in the land of Ireland a touchstone by which an artist might be identified as truly Irish. This in distinction to the artist or writer who simply happened to be born in Ireland. The distinction is useful and at times enlightening. William Carleton and Padraic Colum are, for example, Irish writers, their work grounded in the Irish experience, earthy and of Irish earth a part. But an Edward Fitzgerald or an Oscar Wilde could as well have been born in Athens or Teheran for all the relevance of an Irish birthplace to their exquisite

literary performances. And in Joyce, most Irish and most cosmopolitan of writers, the land at last becomes—in the shape of a great giant recumbent between the hill of Howth and Chapelizod—the central figure in a complex cyclical drama that is no less Ireland's story because it is, or was intended to be, the story of mankind.

Since history, like criticism, follows in the way of literature, the flowering of an Irish literature early in this century may explain the new interest in Irish history that has been apparent since around the time of the Second World War. If so, the historian's task does not seem to have been made much easier, and professional historians today are quite ready to admit that the history of Ireland has not yet been adequately written. There may be many reasons for this, but the one generally given is that the people who, over the centuries, were attached or who attached themselves to the land have proved the single most *unstable* element within the Irish historical framework. “Great hatred, little room,” in Yeats's phrase, had maimed them almost from the start. A bewildering and abrasive admixture of clan, race and creed, the claims of conflicting loyalties and adherence to impossible causes had so confused not only the people but the issues that, in a kind of despair, the complexity of Irish history was commonly reduced to a simple formula of confrontation between native and foreigner.

Of course the formula does not work except for the writing of debased popular history. But the picture is not wholly black. Edmund Curtis' *History of Ireland*, first published in 1936 and reaching six editions within fifteen years, is a straightforward, noninterpretative, highly condensed account of Irish affairs from the beginning down to 1922. There are also studies of particular persons, periods or events that, in addition to presenting a subject impartially and in depth, attain a dimension of significance that is one of the distinctive traits of fine historical writing. A collective work, *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History*, edited by R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams, and Conor Cruise O'Brien's lucid and original *Parnell and His Party 1880-1890*, both published in 1957, are outstanding examples of a new mode of accomplishment that has recently appeared in Irish historical studies. Special

studies of this kind are propaedeutic to any fresh synthesis of Irish history that may appear in the future—such as the cooperative history projected by the Irish Historical Society for publication in 1970.

Meanwhile, readers interested in the subject can be brought up to date by Prof. J. C. Beckett's history of three centuries of English rule in Ireland (1603-1922) and by Mr. T. P. Coogan's account of what has been going on in the country since the Easter Rising of Sixteen. The two books complement each other in a number of ways. Coogan's account picks up approximately where Beckett's leaves off, the latter providing historical perspective on a series of events so recent in time as to be not fully meaningful outside that perspective. Then, too, Beckett is a Belfast man, a Protestant (one supposes), and a professional historian; Coogan is a Dubliner, a Catholic and a practicing journalist. What is important about these differences, about the first two especially, is that they make so little difference. For there is in both a fair-mindedness, an absence of bias, and a respect even for the unpleasant fact in remote or recent history that has happily nothing at all to do with geography or religion. The shenanigans of the Reverend Paisley in the streets of Belfast or the rattling of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) ghost in the South would, one feels, be accepted by both Beckett and Coogan with the same kind of bemused and painful resignation.

The real difference between the two is that one is a scholar and the other a newspaper man. Beckett's approach is explorative, his tone formal and judicious, his conclusions tentative. Mr. Coogan, writing about what are all but current events, is more hurried and quotidian, but resourceful in getting at the facts (he has interviewed many of the people—bishops, gunmen and diplomats—who had a hand in shaping the Ireland the world now knows), and setting these down while they were still, so to speak, hot.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the history of modern Ireland is the role it has played in world affairs since admission to the United Nations some ten years ago. This has been out of all proportion to Ireland's size, and out of tune at times with popular feeling at home. The UN delegation early adopted a stance of “noncommitment” in the East-

West division, and to the surprise of both sides adhered to that position with irritating consistency. Ireland opposed Britain over Suez, the United States over the admission of China to the UN, and has all along opposed the apartheid policies of South Africa. In the Cuban missile crisis of October, 1962, though appreciative of American anxiety, it refused to endorse the State Department's line and expressed understanding for "the concern which the Revolutionary Government of Cuba feels for their national security . . . in view of the attempt made by Cuban refugee elements to invade their territory in April last year." Ireland has even succeeded in irritating all sides at the same time. When, for example, Frank Aiken, leader of its UN delegation, first made his proposal on nuclear limitation and disarmament, it was condemned by America as communistic, by the Russians as a capitalist plot, and by Franco's Spain as undemocratic!

Whether or not Ireland can continue to play this role—a small but independent voice to trouble the liberal conscience of the world—is unknown. Its economic dependence on England, traditional ties to America and natural conservatism bred out of the bone of Irish Catholicism, seem little likely to encourage it. But for a small country, modestly endowed, it has made an admirable beginning.

In the broader perspective of Professor Beckett's study, Ireland may be seen as the small and turbulent theatre where many recent events in world history have been put through protracted and painful rehearsal. In this sense Ireland is the paradigm for those backward, underdeveloped, disadvantaged—all euphemisms for the exploited—nations that have emerged in the 20th century from the breakup of the old imperial systems. Its experience, ranging over eight centuries of colonial exploitation, provides examples of action vis-à-vis an aggressor ranging from the tactical advantages of guerrilla warfare to the possibilities of parliamentary strategy and international propaganda. Consider only the first of these: whenever the Irish risked pitched battle with the English—at Kinsale, at the Boyne, and in '98—the results were calamitous; but there was no way in which the English, forced to maintain large standing armies on Irish soil, could cope with native guerrillas—constantly active in Ireland over eight centuries, whether they were known as Raparees, Whiteboys, Fenians, or the IRA—without resorting to ultimate force, that is, the systematic extermination or transplantation of the native populace. This indeed the English attempted in the 17th and 18th centuries, and even in this they were only partially

successful: *desertum faciunt, pacem vacant*. The Irish guerrilla emerged again in the 20th century and, the conscience of the world inhibiting the use of ultimate force by the English military, successfully wrested the country's independence from a great and powerful empire. The example is not without relevance to events in Southeast Asia today.

The creation of the Irish Free State in 1922 was the first step, the establishment of a republic in 1949 the last, in the total separation of Ireland from England. The process was gradual and undramatic and coincided in large part with the slow dissolution of the British Empire. Marx had foreseen that Ireland would provide the ferment for this dissolution, but he did not foresee that the Socialist revolution would be absorbed in the national—as has also happened elsewhere in the world during the last two decades. Even in the

matter of partition (the six counties of Northern Ireland that remain outside the republic and still adamantly British) the Irish experience has foreshadowed the divided state—Korea, Vietnam and, in a different way, Germany—that begins as a temporary political compromise and continues in existence with every appearance of national permanence.

Ireland's tragedies are behind it, but all irony may not be. The political independence sought and won may yet be compromised by the dependence of its economy on that of England. Cooperation and friendship, so essential if the country is to prosper, may prove more dangerous than old enmities, if Ireland is to be made over now in the image of commercial England. The possibility and the peril are quite real. But it is difficult enough to understand Ireland's past without at this time predicting its future.

Where the Martyrs Died

CONFESSIONS OF AN IRISH REBEL. By Brendan Behan. Bernard Geis Associates. Distributed by Random House. 245 pp. \$4.95.

DUBLIN 1916. Edited by Roger McHugh. Hawthorn Books. 399 pp. \$6.95.

THE IRISH UPRISING 1916-22. A C.B.S. Legacy Collection produced by Goddard Lieberson. Set of book and two records. \$10.95. The Macmillan Company (book only). 164 pp. \$7.95.

SEAN CRONIN

Mr. Cronin is a journalist and author of a group of studies on Irish historical themes, including the 1916 Easter Rising, published in Ireland. He has lived in Ireland and the United States and has written for publications on both sides of the Atlantic.

When Brendan Behan died in March, 1964, at the age of 41, nearly all of Dublin turned out for the funeral. In death they gave him the kind of salute denied him in life. They would have done the same for Sean O'Casey, who sprang from a similar background and died an exile in his 80s. Both were products of that unique brotherhood, the Dublin working class. Both had little formal education. Both were nurtured in an area of Georgian tenements on the north side of the River Liffey.

Confessions of an Irish Rebel is Behan's last work. He didn't write a word of it. Rae Jeffs, who describes herself as a proper British lady until she met Brendan, recorded it on tape for his publish-

ers and transcribed and edited it after his death. It must have been a rough assignment and she deserves praise for the attempt. Ribald, tender, comic, extravagant, flamboyant and occasionally sad, it is authentic Behan.

Yet despite her efforts, it is not worthy of him, being in effect a first draft. *Borstal Boy*, Behan tells us here, was rewritten several times. *Confessions*, billed as a sequel, contains errors the author would not have tolerated: misspelled place names, repetitions, political gaffes. As it stands it is hardly a serious work, reading rather like a collection of those weekly articles Behan wrote for *The People*, a mass-circulation London Sunday newspaper. On that level it succeeds. There is a laugh on every page and it is probably the funniest book of the year.

Confessions records the activities of a truly extraordinary character following his release from an English reform school in the early 1940s to the production of *The Quare Fellow* at the Pike, Dublin's small avant-garde theatre, in 1954. He spent much of the time in various prisons as an Irish Republican Army activist. He manages to make it all sound like a lark, which it wasn't; many of his comrades were maltreated, some were shot. But Behan, who hadn't an ounce of self-pity and little bitterness in his make-up, admits: "I have never been able to talk about things that mean a deal to me . . ." He found other ways to exorcise his memories.

He wrote *The Quare Fellow* as a one-act play in Irish, a language he mastered

in jail with the aid of Gaelic speakers. Based on a Mountjoy Prison hanging which occurred while he was inside, it is a forceful argument against capital punishment. The Abbey, Ireland's national theatre, rejected it, but after its triumph elsewhere, the Abbey staged an expanded version.

The Hostage, also written in Irish, was produced briefly in Dublin. Behan translated it, gave it to Joan Littlewood, was interviewed on British television by Malcolm Muggeridge, and became a sensation overnight. After that he was rarely out of the headlines. Ironically, *The Hostage* was among the plays that sparked the "new theatre" of the 1950s; for Brendan it marked the beginning of a decline that continued until his tragic death.

Perhaps the truth is that there were two Brendan Behans. The outgoing and uninhibited one cocked a snook at the world and its follies. The other, a sensitive introvert whom few people knew, was appalled at the things men do to other men, and died before his time because the conflict and the burden were too great to bear.

"I told the assembled company my story and, for the most part, I told the truth." The vigor of its style and the robustness of its contents notwithstanding, *Confessions of an Irish Rebel* is an

unsatisfactory book, perhaps because Brendan did not write it.

"The right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland" was, and is, a potent slogan. Prof. Roger McHugh of University College Dublin (UCD) draws on contemporary sources to tell the story of the Easter Rising in *Dublin 1916*. O'Casey, Shaw, Yeats, Lady Gregory, James Stephens, Sean O'Faolain, Frank O'Connor, Lennox Robinson, Sylvia Pankhurst are among the contributors.

The shock to the imperial system was profound when in the middle of a war ostensibly being waged "for the freedom of small nations," one small nation opted for freedom. The revolt was crushed in a week, sixteen leaders were executed, thousands were jailed and deported. But, as Yeats noted, Ireland was transformed by the deeds of her martyrs:

*I write it out in a verse—
MacDonagh and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse
Now and in time to be,
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.*

P. H. Pearse, a revolutionary nationalist, and James Connolly, a revolutionary Socialist, inspired the resurgence that swept Ireland after their deaths. In 1919, De Valera could say in New York: "We are the spearhead of the movement for national freedom everywhere." He knew the Easter Rising had significance for all subject peoples. The compromise settlement with England in 1921 led to civil war; the spearhead became a rear guard. As Nehru noted shrewdly: "The English policy had won where it had been checked, and Irishmen were fighting Irishmen and England was quietly helping one party and generally looking on well content with the new development." Political stagnation and mass emigration followed.

Today the names of Pearse and Connolly are eulogized; their ideas are forgotten or ignored. Connolly would not be surprised. "The only true prophets are they who carve out the future which they announce," he wrote once. *Dublin 1916* shows the prophets at work, even though they failed to carve out the future they announced.

One finds it difficult to know what to make of *The Irish Uprising 1916-22*, an expensively garbed C.B.S. book-and-two-record-set that will probably out-sell Behan's *Confessions* and McHugh's anthology combined. It is issued, the sponsors say, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Rising "as a presentation of the events that led to Irish independence." Unfortunately, this is an over-

HOSPITALITY

*How do you feel about
Me taking up space in
Your city? Ah, it is not
An open house, to be sure.
Because some do not want to share
Others must suffer.
My little ones will bear
The cold another night
And late in your big mansion
Leave just once the one room
You use and pad through the long
Hall and consider the value
Of those other rooms and beds—
To another if not to you . . .
And I shall observe that
This year's monsters are much
Like last year's, and those of
Another year. Though
You did not really get hold of me
One did, one did, long ago . . .
Is it her image I seek in you
Asking the smallest favor
Knowing how you will turn us out?
Cold hearts: it takes so many
To make a city like this one.
It is built on such a principle
That for kindness I look to the stars.*

DAVID RAY

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statement; Ireland did not win full independence then or later. What it got was self-government and partition, which is why Brendan Behan was a rebel many years after 1916. The book contains more than 100 good photographs, some reproduced for the first time. President De Valera supplies a foreword. Former President Sean T. O'Kelly is a contributor with historian Thomas P. O'Neill and novelist-critic Benedict Kiely.

No one can cavil at the production nor at what O'Neill and Kiely have to say. The two LPs are something else again. A running narrative interspersed with songs, poems and interviews, it winds up

as a hodgepodge. The album presents the Rising and subsequent resistance through an emotional haze. As Arnold Bax put it:

*And when the devil made us wise
Each in his own peculiar hell,
With desert hearts and drunken eyes
We're free to sentimentalize
By corners where the martyrs died.*

Given his head and two LPs what Brendan Behan wouldn't have done with the story of 1916! He knew more ballads, poems and national lore than any other man in Ireland. But that searching, skeptical, scoffing, suffering mind is no more, and now it will never be done.

recognition of *The Barracks*, the implication that he has also spurned the feeding hand. This circumstance is a small but interesting facet of the entire relationship of the Irish artist with his own society, and which is in turn an active part of the world contest between art and power politics. I can well imagine that many an apparently democratic politician might secretly wish for the authority to gag his working artists who are always prone to describe the clay feet of his otherwise expensive idols. As regards McGahern, it seems that *The Dark* has also cost the man his teaching job: the subtle operation of the immortal sanction, I suppose—a kind of material excommunication. Recently, the whole affair was aired on a television program.

Morning's Twilight

THE DARK. By John McGahern. Alfred A. Knopf. 191 pp. \$3.95.

ANTHONY C. WEST

Mr. West is an Irish writer now living in Wales. His short stories and novels, published internationally, include the novel *The Ferret Fancier* (Simon & Schuster).

When I was in Ireland in the summer of 1965 for the first time in twenty years, I was loaned John McGahern's *The Dark*, together with a farmyard of criticism, comment and gossip concerning the man and his work.

I had not read McGahern's first work, *The Barracks*. It was, apparently, very

well received in England and in Eire, winning a number of lucrative awards. Unfortunately, as things are in Eire, the gaining of official plaudits could be much the same thing as consenting to wear a strait jacket. My own renewed contact with the existing atmosphere, despite the fact that the late Pope John's spirit is very active and seems to constitute the present party line, taught me that in most things cultural still, the whole belongs to the reverend Pat and political Joe, the leavings to myself. I might live in the country, daily dodging all the small chauvinistic mousetraps, and write my head off while knowing that not one Irishman in 10,000 would read, would be advised to read, or would want to read a word of me: official ignorance can work in much the same way as literary ostracism in Russia, concerning which we've had a recent legalistic example. And by all accounts, things aren't that much different in Protestant, evangelical Ulster, with which province I, myself, can claim native sonship. Small autochthonous prophets are always liable to be short served with honor. Never not unhearing the sounds and furies of the millennial Irish boast and blarney, this whole condition is a sad one, especially so when a man has lived long enough to let windmills alone; and, blood—orange and/or green—always being thicker than water, one worries for the future of one's country which none of us can help loving despite its transient, chauvinistic aberrations. In general and with enduring loyalty, we always wish it well, its health and progress somehow always an attached aspect of our personal contentment.

Eire refused McGahern's second book, *The Dark*, and has more or less disowned the man with, I suppose, after the gratis

I am not concerned to ferret out a writer's personal motives, inhibitions and frustrations: if a writer's worth the name, he can use everything inside and outside himself as free and unprejudiced material. There is peace and beauty enthralled in every ugliness, but if bureaucratic civilizations and dictated so-called cultures insist on functioning under the makeshift compromise of the old Moslem-inspired notion of the Double Truth, the ultimate result can only ever be cumulative philistinism with all the associated backslapping and horrible in-breeding of used up ideas, life slowly degenerating into a go-round that is more dull than merry.

I am not camp following any one of the several existing sectarian bandwagons, orange or green. I think I've at last managed to see Ireland whole, if not entirely hearty. And, Ireland, as it is, the entire thirty-two counties of it, border or no border on its skirt, tends to limit this freedom of artistic selection and statement, bending over the artist's shoulder like an old spinsterish schoolteacher and suggesting deletions of what she considers unmentionables; this freedom is and must so remain the first point of liberty for any truly creative mind and must stand alone and apart from all direct religious and political suggestion and interpolation. If the artist abuses, ill uses or misuses his freedom, he demotes himself, has only himself to blame and must bear the responsibility, and the additional national and/or religious censure is not really required and only licenses the hindsighted rabble of grinding grundys to air their self-righteous complaints. I doubt if one has the fiat to judge the artist's actual material as offered; one may only criticize the method and manner of presentation, assessing relative success or failure on this level. However, and thank God for it, as regards McGahern and any other honest Irish writer, native parochial opinion has no weight at all in the gen-

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eral Anglo-Saxon literary forum and, if an Irish writer had to exist on native royalties, he would starve. And, at the hunt's heel, be it said that attempted identification of a creative writer with nationalistic and politico-religious expectations is all wrong, unless the man is asked to be no more than a mouthpiece journalist with suitable blinkers. There are such people and God bless them, but they have nothing to do with the cosmopolitan world economy of art. And good luck to John McGahern in this: he has obviously refused the poet laureateship offered by the *status quo*.

Taking *The Dark* as it is, I'm glad that yet another eye and mind take up the constant challenge of the rich Irish scene with its almost inexhaustible spiritual, social and economic patterns of living, grass-roots facts.

Ireland continues to offer us a unique and concentrated mixture of past forms and potential development: it hasn't yet consented to deposit all its eggs in the 20th-century basket and waits still, watching, slowly assessing, not quite in time, and so equipped with rather more than normal perspective, reducing the big world's doings to parish size, the ghost of the participative Celtic past rubbing shoulders with modern technology, with a trace, perhaps anachronistic, of respect for the seven medieval arts somehow still surviving, the cumulative confusion initiated by the eight-century-old Papal-Norman take-over never really accepted or rationalized, all present directions loaded with buried motives, many of which may, indeed, prefer the dark to daylight. Although I suppose there isn't one single pure Gael left alive, Ireland—the transcendent imagination of it—remains as the last station on the old lost road to *Tir na rOg*, its westward roads and rivers losing themselves in the burying ocean: it remains—sweet hollow, rattling stream, bleak bear-brown bog, lakes gray as old dreams, mountains nipped on constant cloud. . . . But maybe time with the help of technology will finally take it away from us.

In Ireland last year a four-engined jet plane zoomed westward overhead while I watched an old man splitting an ash log with a stone wedge and wooden maul, much as his neolithic ancestor would have done.

The Dark attempts to describe certain series of unadorned existences as they are today. It seems to be the author's basic, working conception to tell the story in a hard, stark, sparse and unexploited way, from the outset setting his mind against any inherent and related softening: after all, he is post-Beckett and may well have been influenced by the latter's strictly exiguous technique.

Nature, even Irish nature, hardly enters the book. Nor is anything mentioned about the vast mythological background, although the book is placed near Rath Cruachan, the royal mystical capital of the ancient province that goes back to De Danann days. I don't even know how many children there are in the family. The household is presented as a kind of lone bush without a tap root, a kind of island. (Maybe the household is Ireland?) With the exception of Father Gerald, there are really only two main measurable characters, the boy and his father. McGahern has omitted details, I think, with the intention of presenting a picture of spiritual barrenness—a wilderness that can only be lived in by clinging to cold and detached noninvolvement; by growing an exoskeleton and keeping the soft parts inside.

The Dark begins with a row between the father and the little boy over the latter's careless use of a four-letter word. One learns there is no mother. She has died previously. Mahoney, the father, is a whole person, and understandable (is the son described through the father?). Articulate resentment of others may only be, after all, a roundabout method of self-discovery.

The hero has few loves. The development of natural sensely affection is constrained by the early ambition to enter the Church, together with the lack of affection within the family unit. He accepts the standard educational pressures along with their moral directives that propose to aim him at the priesthood, which ambition inevitably provokes and unnaturally intensifies the pathetically naive conflict between life as it actually is and the future's ideal, if highly abstract, intentions, the official purpose seeming to be that the earthly vessel should be kept empty until ultimate consecration fills it with the sound of God.

The whole family bunches together against the parent. Behind his back they protect themselves against his bald authority by mocking him. The inward, sensitive son sleeps with the father and hates it, hates the physical contact and nightly breach of privacy, never unaware of the father's temporary superiority in physical strength. I've heard some private critics make rare comments on this episode but I'd say they are all reading more into it than is really there.

A rather similar episode occurs during the visit of the hero to Father Gerald when the long-drawn ambition to be a priest reaches its climax and end, and the amateur critics again see elements of active homosexuality in this section. No. I'd say that this interpretation is poor psychology. All of us hold elements of latent bisexuality—otherwise we wouldn't be able to tolerate one another.

The Eire commissars might well have thanked McGahern for the honestly drawn sketch of this priest. Father Gerald has lived long enough to come to some kind of terms with the appalling loneliness of his vocation, and he is no homosexual, aware or unaware. He has long ago accepted the physical abnormality of celibacy. If one knows something about priestly training one can't underestimate its power to help the subject navigate most sexual hazards in himself and in others. And if a state of mind is maintained and encouraged by powerful institutions and by national entelechies subject to the institutions, then it assumes the authority of law and is sanctified by custom, habit and tradition—by time itself. On the abstract, intellectualistic, nonparticipative level, as our master Mister Kant explained, antinomic hypothesis can dispute with antinomic theory, cold logic alone intact, the hungry human being confused and cross-purposed into ultimate apathy, God as Divine Adviser still right Up There even if the world below is half crazy.

O my country, fertile stud farm for politico-religious abstractions, beehive of prayer, plain song and penance, old wild laughing Celtica now named the same thing as solemn Vaticanism and ranting Calvinism. In modern above-board reality, celibacy and the religious outlook should be the result of a free decision, an

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act of free will, each man as individual allowed to decide the issue. Ireland badly needs a 20th-century Rabelais.

For me, *The Dark* touches lightly and swiftly on many themes and aspects of Irish life and, in all probability, these will continue to occupy McGahern in one

way and another for the rest of his writing life. He may consort with the folk of other nations and may attempt to describe them, as a D. H. Lawrence tried to do, but his own folk at home will remain as the only ones he has learned to know, the hard way.

reads the journals of the great figures and the various movements, it is clear that there were no illusions about laws: suffrage and other legal reforms were seen only as prerequisites for ultimate integration. The vote was a means. The overriding end was economic independence: the right to work, the right to equal pay, the right to retain one's wages and to be freed from the ignominy of *femme couverte* status. Even today, women's wages are substantially below the earnings of men, but this fact has little relevance to current discontent. The question arises: why not?

A clue may be found in Andrew Sinclair's theory of the development of the lady. Seeking to trace the process that set American women outside the mainstream of American life, and fixed the separate-but-equal philosophy that legitimates that exclusion, Sinclair points to the country's early affluence which made possible an increase in the class of "American ladies":

. . . the idleness of the American

For Each Her Own Tiny Revolt

THE BETTER HALF: The Emancipation of the American Woman. By Andrew Sinclair. Harper & Row. 401 pp. \$6.95.

NANCY REEVES

Mrs. Reeves is a member of the bar in New York and California. She has written widely on the status of women.

Contemporary American women still lead lives that are caricatures of their foremothers', seeking their fortunes in Oliver W. Holmes's description as "marriageable girls sittin' like shopkeepers behind their goods." Nor is this pattern limited to the "lady class"; it pervades every level of income and of education. Thus, for the majority of American women, sex and security are still centered in the same relationship. Even the minority, who are beginning to question the soft sell in the free ride, tend to make their forays into the fuller life from the protective custody of their husbands' solid incomes. Their dream is limited to self-realization: first person singular. Each individual struggles to achieve her own tiny revolution.

Andrew Sinclair's book is therefore salutary. In focusing interest once again on "the glorious phalanx of old maids" who led the suffrage movement, he reminds us that theirs was a creative insurgency concerned with self-realization for the human race: third person plural. In the ferment of the abolition movement, there was a tie very early between the peculiar institution and the peculiar sex, for women, in seeking to free the slaves, became conscious of their own bonds. They also learned techniques of organization and patterns of resourcefulness that stood them in good stead in their own cause. I like the picture, sketched by Henrietta Buckmaster, of a mob swarming into the building where Garrison was to address the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, whereupon the chairman, Maria Weston Chapman, calmly directed each white lady to take a colored "sister" by the hand and so they walked, two by two, out of the building, "their hands folded in their cotton gloves, their eyes busily identifying the genteel leaders of the mob."

Today, even though a dynamic frac-

tion of American women are certainly absorbed in all current issues, there is no organic connection between these issues and the "summer of our discontent" that characterizes neo-feminism. Yesterday's rebels were concerned with social action; today's limit themselves to subjective search. It has been argued that the reason for this disparity derives from the fundamental change in objective conditions: in the past women fought for formal rights, now they are faced with the task of realizing them. Yet, if one

THE POTENTIAL PRISONER

*The backstage of this airport
Was unfamiliar. We sat
In the cubicle of the Chief Customs Official
On broken wicker stools, staring*

*At framed portraits of great
Asian smugglers and close-ups
Of bizarre smuggling techniques.*

*I saw huge photos of men's common shoes —
Toes had pockets filled with opium. I saw
False tops of suitcases; the stow-
Away techniques always amaze me, the pictures
Were so odd they made us smile.*

*Meanwhile, the potential prisoner
Never arrived. We drove back
To familiar things in this strange city
And spent the night
Exchanging information
Leading to the capture
Of our secret selves. Why should we*

*Hide our own lives
In the toes of our shoes?
Later, we knew
We had arrived,
Without knowing why,
At that moment of revelation
When we threw out
The puffs and padding of
Our inner lies. Love,*

*After all, descends in the foreign dark
Apparently praying to be caught.*

SANDRA HOCHMAN

lady was the concern of every traveler who came to the New World expecting to see nothing but thrifty and industrious republican women. The English feminist, Barbara Bodichon, found the lady class of America more utterly idle than anywhere outside the harems of the East.

Given the fluid society of that time, the material wealth, and the ideology that as Veblen noted "required respectable women to be freed from any taint of utility," it is not surprising that even women at the bottom of the economic ladder failed to concern themselves with their position in the labor market. Even for today's rebels, the emphasis is on personal fulfillment, not financial autonomy. Redress is sought more in terms of therapy than of justice. Sinclair writes: "The curious fact about the Victorian lady was that her husband was prepared to work himself almost to death to support her." So is the contemporary husband as is proved by the incidence of male mortality among the dollar hunters. The standard assertion to dramatize women's advance (they now own two-thirds of all private wealth) is not very impressive when one reflects that "they have not earned it; they have married it, and have been left widows."

Despite these interesting ideas, *The Better Half* is not a successful book, perhaps because of the very dimensions of the task the author has undertaken: to document woman's role in American society, a subject neglected by most historians. In 1959, Eleanor Flexner published her definitive study of the suffrage movement: *Century of Struggle*. Sinclair must have decided to produce a broader work, for he sandwiches the period covered by Flexner between a flash-back to colonial times and a projection to the present. The result is a fast-paced, impressionistic chronicle, rather like a survey course, with no clearly articulated axis, despite the fact that the point of view is enlightened and many of the insights are valuable. Though there is evidence of considerable research in *The Better Half*, research is not necessarily scholarship. As Karl Mannheim has noted: "... even a slightly deeper study of social phenomena proves that naive observation of facts does not suffice because sociological conditions mostly appear in a distorted form, and it requires theory, knowledge and trained observation, to unmask them, and interpret their vicissitudes as a function of the underlying processes." It is this angle of vision that is lacking in most works on women and the result is a perpetuation of assumptions. One of the most pervasive is that women were historically invisible—outside past societies—and are only now coming into their own. As Mary Beard notes:

THE NATION / November 7, 1966

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... women merely dropped out of the pen portraits. They remained in the actuality. They were members of all the castes from the slave stratum at the bottom to the ruling families at the top and, even where restrictions were the tightest, took part in nearly everything that went on in the world.

On a smaller scale, there is the persistent assumption that the leaders of the suffrage movement were caricatures. Sinclair, though sympathetic to their cause, cannot resist the fad for curbstone psychoanalysis, attributing homosexual tendencies to Susan B. Anthony and marital disillusionment to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as motivating factors for ideological action. To quote Mannheim again: "We are still at the stage in which we talk about the apple and rarely mention the laws of gravity."

And finally, Sinclair contrives an assumption of his own, in fitting the facts of the suffrage movement into his construct of small-town versus city, as a cultural theme. Thus, the most sophisticated, the most radical, the most intel-

lectual of the leaders, Susan B. Anthony, is characterized as follows:

... she displayed a fundamental belief in American rural values that was extraordinary in an educated and emancipated woman. Her hatred of the city and its ways, her belief that only the land was good, her simple ideas on the running of a government, her bias against intellectual life, and her contempt for the expanding commerce that was to develop the continent betray her underlying conservatism and her sentiment for a lost heritage. . . . But such beliefs made her useless in her attempts to secure the backing of slum or factory women. . . . In fact, her novelty was, as was that of Elizabeth Stanton, to believe in the literal words of the Declaration of Independence.

This about the editor of *Revolution* which spoke for the exploited woman worker and the social outcast! And one has to be an Englishman to imagine that belief "in the literal words of the Declaration of Independence" could spell conservatism at any period.

strict the number of approved hospital operations. I find that Lader is a bit severe in his criticism of doctors for maintaining such boards. Considering their extremely precarious legal position with respect to abortions, it is hardly surprising if physicians have developed these protective group-decision mechanisms. Similarly, Lader seems to exaggerate the role of the "board system" in creating an abortion situation which discriminates against the lower classes. Surely, here too the ultimate and major blame must lie at the center of the entire system—the repressive and senseless laws. As long as most abortions are defined as illegal unless necessary to "preserve the life of the mother," whatever procedures hospitals adopt, the bulk of abortions are bound to be illegal ones, and lower-class women will suffer the most. Of course these are simply questions of emphasis. Lader is well aware of the relation between the hospital rules and the broader legal proscriptions, a relation which does quite definitely come across in his book. And he may be quite right in charging physicians with the responsibility to challenge and test existing laws at every possible juncture. Certainly the physician who refuses a woman's application for a hospital abortion cannot evade personal moral responsibility for the likely consequences of such a ruling—her obtaining an illegal abortion, at far greater risk.

Lader shows very clearly that the legal limitations on hospital abortion (in which we find non-physicians telling physicians what is "therapeutic" and what is not) are utterly unworkable. Humanitarian indications (such as rape and incest) and eugenic indications (such as German measles early in pregnancy) are not allowed, and psychiatric indications are extremely difficult to determine and apply. (According to the letter of the law, abortion usually would be permissible only on psychiatric grounds where a "valid" danger of suicide could be shown to exist.) Under official policy, socio-economic factors, no matter how pressing, are held to be completely irrelevant to whether a termination of pregnancy might be considered "therapeutic." Studies summarized by Lader show that hospitals have in fact been performing some abortions which—if the letter of the law were strictly applied—would have to be acknowledged as illegal. This does support his argument that by adopting more lenient policies hospitals could usefully "stretch" the accepted (if not, technically, legal) indications for therapeutic abortion. One hospital he cites has simply gone ahead and taken an extremely liberal stance on this question—thus far, with no legal interference.

Lader's account provides much useful

Abortion on Demand

ABORTION. By Lawrence Lader. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 212 pp. \$5.95.

EDWIN M. SCHUR

Mr. Schur is a professor of sociology at Tufts University. His most recent book is *Crimes Without Victims* (Prentice-Hall).

Writing in these pages eleven years ago ["The Abortion Racket: Product of Lagard Law," March 5, 1955] I commented that Frederick Taussig's 1936 description of our, "ostrich-like" refusal to face the facts of abortion was then still, unfortunately, a most apt one. It is a sad commentary on processes of rational socio-legal change that today—thirty years after Taussig wrote—the situation, at least officially, is little altered. True, the "conspiracy of silence" to which Lawrence Lader alludes in his new book is gradually being breached. Professional groups (both medical and legal) are beginning to demand a more critical scrutiny of the problem, and policy makers have even taken a few hesitant steps in the direction of actual legal reform. Nonetheless, the stark fact remains that abortion continues to be outlawed under American law.

Mr. Lader has performed a real service in providing the general reader with a well-documented and lucid discussion of all aspects of the abortion problem. He

has done an extremely thorough job of researching his subject, yet presents his findings in nontechnical, readable form, largely avoiding the sensationalism which often characterizes books on such controversial topics. Case studies, statistics, general medical knowledge, historical and comparative data, and social and ethical perspectives are sensibly interwoven by the author to give a comprehensive and forceful picture of what he rightly terms "the system."

One of the striking features of the system has been a "mythology of fear." Perhaps because of lurid publicity given to cases of illegal abortion, few Americans seem to have become aware that "hospital abortion [in the early stages of pregnancy] has become one of the simplest and safest of all operations in recent decades," and considerable evidence exists that there need not even be adverse psychological aftereffects; such reactions, as Lader points out, may be culturally induced.

The gist of the "system" however, seems to be to keep hospital (i.e., safe) abortions at a minimum. In this connection, Lader analyzes the experience of various hospitals in developing special boards and procedures for the processing of abortion applications. As he rightly notes, the abortion board serves to re-

comparative material, demonstrating that the more permissive policies in other countries have not led to any of the horrible consequences so often detailed by critics of liberal abortion laws. He also offers an interesting exploration of the religious background and support for our present policies, expressing hope that recent statements by some Catholic spokesmen favoring the acceptance of pluralism in public-policy realms may bode well for the future of reform proposals.

Lader notes with approval both proposals for modifying existing therapeutic abortion laws to allow wider indications, and the more radical argument that women should not ever be compelled to

bear unwanted children—that abortion should be available “on demand.” Of course, as Lader’s book eloquently shows, we have abortion on demand now. The only matters really in dispute are the auspices under which such operations shall be performed, and the attitude society shall express toward aborting women. It is to be hoped that Lader’s excellent study will convince many people of the futility, hypocrisy, and inhumanity involved in labeling such women “criminals.” With the time ripe for a change in these outmoded laws, this book might well play a substantial role in bringing about a humane and sensible reform of public policy.

the rugged common sense of the natural person. Her skill is not “technique”: it is the flower of truth arising from the rich loam of an unspoiled humanity.

This lyric genius occasionally quivers uneasily through some lack of confidence. Here and there I feel the actress verging on hysteria, especially as the rehearsal circumstances and the drive of the direction push her toward it. But there is more to the phenomenon than just that; it has something to do with a quality to be found in many of our best actresses.

The “nervousness” I refer to may even be detected in Barbara Harris. She dominates and is indeed the only justification for *The Apple Tree* at the Shubert Theatre. The show consisting of three one-act musical sketches based on stories by Mark Twain, Frank Stockton and Jules Feiffer, is borscht-circuit comedy in elaborate and expensive trappings—except for the first piece, “The Diary of Adam and Eve,” in which I imagine costly scenery was dispensed with along with nudity. Jerry Bock’s lyrics are flat. Sheldon Harnick’s score is savorless, a fact which may not be noticed because of its suave orchestration and a superior sound system. There is barely a trace of true dancing in the show, and the fun is spread

THEATRE / Harold Clurman

George Kaufman’s *The Butter and Egg Man* continues the “festival of American plays” at the Cherry Lane Theatre. Kaufman had a sardonic humor which he dissolved in Broadway sirup and soda water, a mixture that guaranteed popularity in the twenties. The period was both heartless and sentimental, murderous and gay, corrupt and juvenily agitated.

Kaufman’s talent consisted in his ability to sort other people’s notions into sure-fire constructions. He knew nothing so well as stage mechanics and was able to infuse them with a spirit wholly characteristic of New York in his day.

The Butter and Egg Man, the only play he wrote without somebody to supply him with subject matter, reveals Kaufman joking about his chief concern: show business. Since the material is limited, the result is flimsy. It is nevertheless replete with facile gags, most of them amiably mirthful, assembled with transparent proficiency. We anticipate their coming and laugh at their punctual arrival.

When the play was done in 1925 it was accepted as a realistic comedy. Now it is quaint farce. It is ably directed by Burt Shevelove who has a penchant for Times Square rococo, vintage gimcracks daubed in camp color. Vicki Cummings conveys the Kaufman spleen deftly. The customary sweets—the nice boy and girl—are pleasantly served by Tyne Daly and David Christmas.

The Rose Tattoo is Tennessee Williams’ most sanguine play. In it his mysticism—awe at the centrality of the sex act—is affectionately celebrated. There is also a covert irony in the play: friendly mockery at American inhibition in regard to the libido as contrasted with the Italians’ honest sensuality. This gratifies

our audiences almost as much as does the wistfulness of *The Glass Menagerie*. But even in *The Rose Tattoo*—all red wine and roses—Williams sounds a deeper note, a feeling for the fierce sanctity of carnal commitment.

This aspect of the play was missed in its first production (1950) and it is still diluted at the City Center. Directors are so pleased to display Williams in a mood of open humor that they obscure the play’s more mature complexion. For all that, in view of the brief rehearsal period permitted by the City Center schedule, Milton Katselas has done a most commendable job of direction.

The tempo is a bit too hectic, the characterizations a little too broad but the production as a whole is coherently warm hearted. It is well cast throughout. Harry Guardino is the truck driver with the face of a clown and the body of a god. His performance is animated by boyish guilelessness, a sweet ebullience. Maria Tucci glows with Madonna-like passion and purity. Christopher Walken as the virgin sailor provokes no snickers; on the contrary he inspires cordial regard.

The triumph of the occasion, transfiguring it into an outstanding event, is Maureen Stapleton. Miss Stapleton was excellent when she played the central role originally but now she brings to it a fullness of experience as person and actress which proves my oft-repeated contention that she is among the four or five of our finest actresses.

She reminds me of Laurette Taylor, the true poet among American players of our time. Stapleton is vulnerability and valor, tremulous sensibility, with an unsuspected potential of strength, profound womanliness, innocence and a cleansing humor that springs from earthy simplicity,

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very thin. There is only Barbara Harris.

In the Adam and Eve bit, with Alan Alda as a good-natured and most likable Adam, abetted by the roguishly urbane Larry Blyden as the Snake, Miss Harris is a charmingly cute, effortlessly shrewd little girl. Her best "acting" is in the delivery of *Oh, To Be a Star* in "Passionella" (the evening's final episode) in which her clowning achieves an adorably grotesque poignancy. There is also a second and thoroughly futile number called *The Lady or the Tiger* in which we are permitted to espy Miss Harris' fetching anatomy, in the display of which she appears to be needlessly shy.

None of this however struck me as forcibly as the realization that Miss Harris' allure—and though no "beauty" Miss Harris has a positive allure—is due to the hurt underlying the wit of her mimicry. Miss Harris, unknowingly no doubt, covers some inner uneasiness by a perfectly adjusted comic mask. She finds salvation in the irony of her disguise. Constrained to play-act, she assumes divers theatrical false faces because if she didn't she would be unable to recognize herself. This fortunate escape, this covered and well-concealed wound, gives her a lyric pathos that moves us even though we imagine that all she does is amuse us. The great comedian is always more than just funny.

Though they differ widely one from another, I observed similar pathos (the "nervousness" I have alluded to) in Jeanne Eagels, in Pauline Lord, in Laurette Taylor, in Judy Holliday, and I discern it today not only in Maureen Stapleton and Barbara Harris but in Barbra Streisand, Kim Stanley, Julie Harris, Geraldine Page and several others. English actresses of equal abilities, no matter what their subjective state, make steadier professional and social adjustments. They rise to a realm somewhere outside themselves as private persons. They have accepted their roles on the stage and in society as their true fulfillment. The actresses I have named seem to tremble, sob or bleed under the composure of their art. It gives them a special vibration which generally affects me more than the admirable iron of the English actresses' competence. What it is in our theatre and in our civilization which causes the difference is an interesting question.

The freeze of feeling needed for the proper articulation of modern madcap comedy is present in Henry Livings' *Eh?* but not sufficiently so in its production at the Circle in the Square.

Livings is one of the English playwrights who resolve the recent British confusion in coldly wild farce. Nearly all his plays point to one source of the insanity by being placed in some industrial

environment: a factory lavatory, an electric appliance shop, an army kitchen. *Eh?* takes place in the boiler room of a dye works. (Haven't the English yet accommodated themselves to the industrial age?)

We are introduced to a foreman whose main concern is keeping the surrounding street air clear of the black smoke from the electric heaters, a minister who acts as censor to punish such contamination, a spinster secretary whose brain is cracked by Freudian terminology, not to speak of suppressed desires. Into this triangular establishment (where also a Hindu assistant hovers in grimy gnomish mystification) comes a zany workman who abhors work but requires employment. His real preoccupation is the growing of mushrooms which come to glorious fruition even in the midst of the industrial inferno. (All this, one sees, is symbolic of contemporary England.) The fumbling, bumbling employee is later joined by a lusty little wench of a fiancée who clamors for the final rites of wedlock. The presence of these two, particularly that of the little man bedeviled by all the tics and tremors of our total latter-day disaffection, makes for a topsy-turvy scene in which the guid-

ing principle is discontinuity taken more or less as a norm.

Livings makes no overt comment: poker faced and dry, he writes as if bent on nothing more than the recording of a routine process temporarily unhinged by odd accidents. The effect is bewilderingly comic though the proceedings would gain much if they were cut by at least half an hour. They would also be more telling if the actors' speech were more authentically regional. Such speech even in London serves as a species of "alienation" which is required for these farces just as traditionally stylized make-up and costumes were necessary for the old Italian comedy.

Both in speech and manner most of the cast are too close to "life," though Dustin Hoffman, with his absent air and a faint smile on his face, as if something were going on inside himself he couldn't identify, manages to catch something of the play's style: personified automation gone haywire. Elizabeth Wilson as the secretary has a quietly dislocated humor, and Alexandra Berlin adds a touch of attractively grubby folksiness like an intrusion from a now almost forgotten world to the quirks and wrenches of this wry entertainment.

FILMS / Robert Hatch

They've launched Lynn Redgrave, younger daughter of Sir Michael, with the force of a man being shot from a cannon, and it is a good thing she has talent or the eruption into eminence would have stunned her. As it is, one wonders where she will go from instant stardom. *Georgy Girl*, a sick Cinderella story, was tailored for her style and gifts—a big girl whose baby fat is holding on rather tenaciously, who nevertheless moves like a dancer, has mastered a formidable repertory of emotional quick changes and can mug ferociously. It remains to be seen whether she is to become another of those lady clowns who, at what personal cost one never knows, capitalize on their native ineptitude, or whether she can trim her person and temper her manual of stage exercises to the dimensions of dramatic performance. Right now, she is a tough kitten on a romp; it is accomplished extravagance, but it can't very well be repeated.

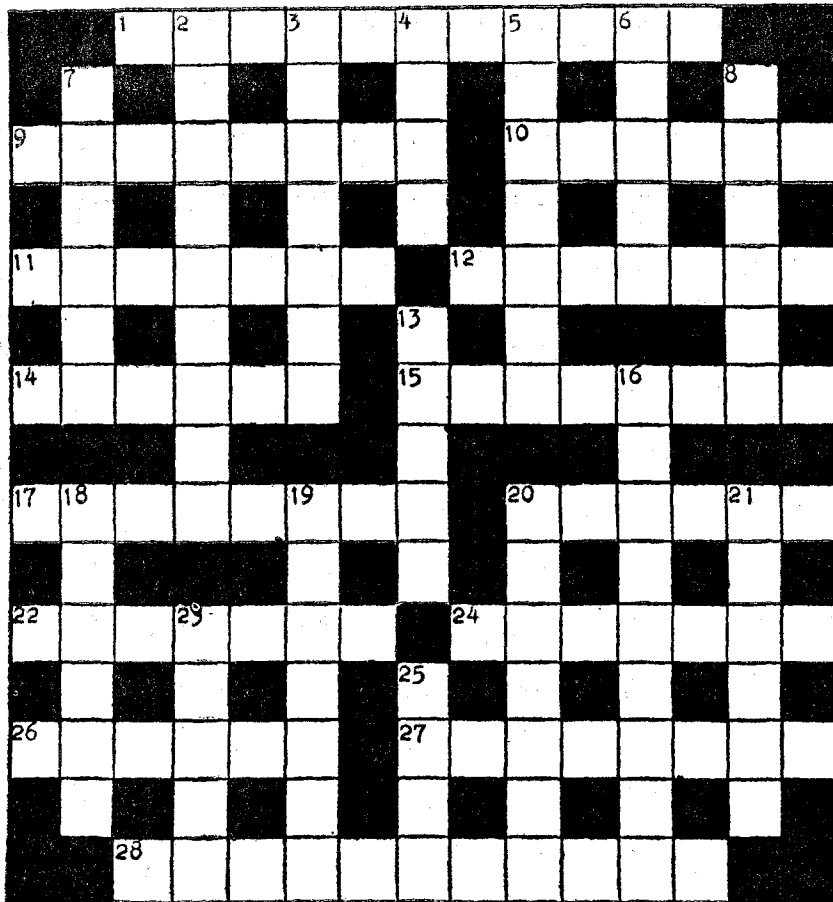
And *Georgy Girl* is a tough comedy; as fierce as it is hilarious. The English these days have a matter-of-fact way of slugging one another in the ego that is not paralleled over here. We're killers, too, but we are also justifiers and guilt collectors: unadorned domestic karate,

with no backward glance, catches us in our breath. It may be that the implacability with which England built its empire has been redirected by the post-Suez generation to personal relations. Or perhaps the British have always treated one another this way (Jane Austen threw a very quick punch), and it now only seems more ruthless because they are no longer training themselves to drill the sepoy.

In *Georgy Girl*, Miss Redgrave plays odd girl out (temporarily in) to the cool of Alan Bates and Charlotte Rampling, and nymphet to the middle-aged gush of James Mason. In the first guise she is a campfire girl tenting in a very hip pad; in the second she is as professional as any of her sisters along Piccadilly. The fun, sometimes spiced and sometimes blurred by the Keystone gymnastics which director Silvio Narizzano has injected to keep his cast in somersaults and his audience in stitches, is to watch her shift from neophyte to technician. *Georgy* has had an odd upbringing (too complicated to document here); she understands men, but what she doesn't dig is boys. She also understands how to get the show rolling (as why wouldn't she?); if she has learned more than that, a second film should show it.

Crossword Puzzle No. 1174

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

- 1 Sagging, like some pillows, perhaps. (11)
- 9 Make it sit the hard way for such people. (8)
- 10 and 3 down What the states are to countries might be un-abbreviated. (6, 7)
- 11 Look carefully about the edges of the lake, perhaps. (7)
- 12 Obviously a foreign body! (7)
- 14 They might be lucky when one stands in line for coffee! (6)
- 15 and 23 down Suggests a southern play-boy, but supposed to be harmless in play. (8, 5)
- 17 Bookish, but what does one expect after losing at 25! (8)
- 20 See 28 across
- 22 Wagered some change? It's a darn nuisance! (7)
- 24 Peace classically broken, seen about the same way in broad vista. (7)
- 26 A couple of play-fellows from here, in the river on a yacht. (7)
- 27 See 2 down
- 28 and 20 across People are not likely to have toast on an empty stomach with it. (5-6, 6)

DOWN:

- 2 and 27 The sound of 23 was responsible, concerning what might come from the watch and the Rhine, perhaps. (2, 4, 3, 3, 5)

- 3 See 10 across
- 4 With Wagner, did she have a dream for sale? (4)
- 5 Not so much of a smoothie, but sounds as though one might take a trick. (7)
- 6 Players have them—specifically Shakespearean players. (5)
- 7 Wall-speaker, if hopefully good-looking. (6)
- 8 Did this family start out with the doctoring business? (6)
- 13 A large order? (5)
- 16 Echo-like? (9)
- 18 Winds and deals? (6)
- 19 Some extra money in the till, but perhaps can't be used to good effect! (7)
- 20 The second and third letter are too little by 7. (7)
- 21 One who might decide the parts of a wheel? (6)
- 23 See 15 across
- 25 When the dust settles, still the boss! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1173

ACROSS: 1 and 6 Washington Post; 10 Stand-in; 11 Toccata; 12 Rissoles; 13 Units; 15 and 1 down Otherwise; 17 Mine-shaft; 19 Starlings; 21 and 23 Determines; 24 Confound; 27 Illness; 28 Opinion; 29 Surd; 30 Continnence. DOWN: 2 and 25 Spanish onion; 3 Indus; 4 Gentleman; 5 Oaths; 7 Ocarina; 8 Transitory; 9 Accursed; 14 and 26 Housemaid's knee; 16 Relishes; 18 Nosing out; 20 Annular; 22 Tension; 24 Cisco.

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"The war in Vietnam is one of the most barbarous wars in history" — U Thant

SICK OF THE WAR?

Every day brings new evidence that Washington is preparing another massive escalation of the war in Vietnam after the November 8 elections. But during Secretary McNamara's recent visit to Vietnam, Sgt. Henry Pott told a *New York Post* reporter (Oct. 15, 1966, dispatch) of the "sadistic" position in which our escalation places our soldiers. He ended up saying: "The only way we'll get all the Viet Cong is to take every man between 10 and 60 and line them up and shoot every one."

This period may mark a major turning point in the Vietnam war and in American history. Discussion, criticism and protest must not be silenced during this election time — or afterward. We must let Washington know that opposition to the war by Americans will continue to mount.

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